

October 1955

Volume XLIV, No. 9

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

- An Unsolvable Puzzle?
- Detroit's Regional Plan
- The Wisdom of John Marshall
- Slum Clearance Pays Off

State Tax Collections

Reach New High

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR

ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN E. BEBOUT
WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.
RICHARD S. CHILDS
SAMUEL K. GOVE
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

VICTOR JONES
JOHN P. KEITH
H. M. OLMS TED
WADE S. SMITH
WM. REDIN WOODWARD

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, Pennsylvania
BRUCE R. ANDREWS, Wisconsin
CARTER W. ATKINS, Connecticut
CHESTER BIESER, Washington
D. BENTON BISER, Maryland
ERNEST M. BLACK, Oklahoma
JOHN C. BOLLENS, California
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, Missouri
A. C. BRECKENRIDGE, Nebraska
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, Michigan
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, Maryland
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, New York
WELDON COOPER, Virginia
C. A. CROSSER, Washington
PAUL DOLAN, Delaware
D. MACK EASTON, Colorado
WILLIAM O. FARBER, South Dakota
VICTOR FISCHER, Alaska
FOREST FRANK, Ohio
DAVID FUDGE, Oklahoma
ROBERT M. GOODMAN, Rhode Island
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, Georgia
M. H. HARRIS, Utah
SAM HAYS, Arkansas
ROBERT B. HIGHAWAY, Alabama
EDWARD H. HOBBS, Mississippi
JACK E. HOLMES, New Mexico
ORREN C. HORMELL, Maine
HERMAN KEHRLI, Oregon
JOSEPH A. KELLY, Rhode Island

PAUL KELSO, Arizona
DAVID C. KNAPP, New Hampshire
DRYDEN KUSER, Nevada
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, New Hampshire
STUART A. MACCORKLE, Texas
BOYD A. MARTIN, Idaho
EDWARD M. MARTIN, Illinois
JAMES W. MARTIN, Kentucky
JAMES W. McGREW, New Jersey
DAYTON D. MCKEAN, Colorado
EDWIN B. MCPHERON, Indiana
WILLIAM MILLER, New Jersey
LENNOX L. MOAK, Pennsylvania
ANDREW E. NUOQUIST, Vermont
KIMBROUGH OWEN, Louisiana
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, Tennessee
JOHN E. REEVES, Kentucky
ROLAND R. RENNE, Montana
RUSSELL M. ROSS, Iowa
ALBERT B. SAYE, Georgia
VICTORIA SCHUCK, Massachusetts
LLOYD M. SHORT, Minnesota
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, New York
PAUL D. STEWART, West Virginia
ROBERT H. STOUDEMIRE, South Carolina
JOHN G. STUTZ, Kansas
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, Wyoming
PAUL W. WAGER, North Carolina
YORK WILLBERN, Alabama
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, Florida

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

George H. Gallup, President

John S. Linon, Vice President

Carl H. Pforzheimer, Treasurer

George S. Van Schaick, Vice President

Alfred Willoughby, Executive Director

Richard S. Childs, Chairman, Executive Committee

COUNCIL

Cecil Morgan, New York, Chairman

Frederick L. Bird, New York
Arthur W. Bromage, Ann Arbor, Mich.
E. Bartlett Brooks, Dayton, Ohio
Henry Brubers, New York
William H. Bulkeley, Hartford
Mrs. Albert D. Cask, Cincinnati
Charles E. Commander, Jr., Jacksonville
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
E. D. Dodd, Toledo
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J.
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
Arnold Frye, New York
Ewart W. Goodwin, San Diego

Thomas Graham, Louisville
Francis A. Harrington, Worcester
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Myron C. Law, Seattle
Mrs. Virgil Leob, St. Louis
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond, Va.
Eugene C. Martin, Syracuse, N. Y.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Otto L. Nelson, Jr., Princeton, N. J.
James M. Oaborn, New Haven, Conn.
H. Bruce Palmer, Newark, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Robert H. Rawson, Cleveland
Arthur B. Richardson, New York
Philip K. Robinson, Milwaukee

Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

Jac Chambless, Chattanooga
William Collins, New York
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Carl J. Gilbert, Boston
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis

Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
John Naueen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Thomas B. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
Charles F. Teft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

Carleton B. Tibbets, Los Angeles

News of the League

Group Eyes States' Problems

A committee to suggest a program of research, publication and citizen education on the importance of the role of the states and the problems involved in modernizing state constitutions and strengthening state governments was formed at the recent convention of the American Political Science Association at Boulder.

Appointment of the committee by Harold Laswell, president of the association, followed the suggestion in an address by John E. Bebout, assistant director of the National Municipal League, that the association, the League and perhaps other organizations collaborate in developing such a program.

Members of the committee, in addition to Mr. Bebout, are Albert L. Sturm of the University of West Virginia, who presided over the panel before which Mr. Bebout spoke, and W. Brooke Graves, of the Library of Congress, who is chairman of the League's Committee on State Government and a prolific author in this field.

Proposals by the committee are to be presented to President Laswell for consideration by the executive committee of the association.

Gallup Advises Handbook Project

Dr. George Gallup, League president, has been chosen as a member of a national committee to advise in the compilation of a handbook of American election statistics by the Government Affairs Institute, according to announcement by Dr. Edward H. Litchfield, president of the institute, which is an

affiliate of the American Political Science Association.

Other members of the committee include Arthur Krock of *The New York Times*, Professor V. O. Key of Harvard University and Allen D. Manvel, director of the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census. Preparation of the handbook will be financed by a grant of \$145,000 by the Stern Family Fund, New Orleans, and will be supervised by Richard M. Scammon, now head of the State Department's Western European research organization.

N.M.L., *Look* Honored

For the second time, the National Municipal League in September received the Freedoms Foundation Award for its sponsorship of the All-America Cities contest. *Look* magazine, co-sponsor, also received a similar award for the second time.

Dr. George H. Gallup (left), president, National Municipal League, presents Mr. Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle businessman, with League's "Distinguished Citizen Award," at annual dinner, National Conference on Government, Seattle, July 27, 1955.





Members of panel discussing "Solving the Metropolitan Puzzle," National Conference on Government, Seattle, July 26, 1955. Left to right: Stanley Scott, University of California; Leslie J. Reese, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division; Herman Kehrl, University of Oregon; Herbert Emmerich, Public Administration Clearing House, presiding; Donald R. Larson, Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board; Charlton F. Chute, Institute of Public Administration; Thomas H. Reed, consultant on municipal government; James R. Ellis, Seattle attorney.

Model Used to Show Why Vote Frauds Occurred

In a recent series of analytical articles in *The Providence Journal-Bulletin*, Robert W. Burke, city hall reporter, referred to and quoted extensively from the League's *Model Voter Registration System* to show how Rhode Island's election laws fail to measure up to good practice and high standards set in other states. The series was inspired by mass vote fraud in Providence at the July 12 election.

Gove Joins Staff

Samuel K. Gove, winner of the League's Staff Fellowship for 1955-56, joined the staff early in September. Research assistant professor with the Institute of Government and Public Affairs of the University of Illinois, Gove has been associated with the institute since 1950.

Members of panel discussion on "Looking toward Tomorrow — Local Planning and Municipal Policy Making." Left to right: Victor Fischer, League of Alaskan Cities; Frank H. Backstrom, city manager, Tacoma, Washington; George Duggar, University of California; Robert F. Hintz, Seattle Planning Commission, speaking; George S. Van Schaick, Regional Plan Association of New York, presiding; P. N. Royal, Principal Engineer, city of Seattle; Omer L. Mithun, Bellevue, Washington, Planning Commission; John F. Sullivan, Phoenix, Arizona, City Council.

Ryukyuan Leaders Visit NML Offices

Three leaders of the government of the Ryukyu Islands were among the many visitors of recent weeks to the Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, headquarters of the National Municipal League.

They were Shuden Higa, who heads the secretariat of the government's chief executive, and Mashi Toyama and Utaro Higa, members of the 29-member unicameral legislature of the islands.

Other recent visitors included Mr. and Mrs. James Osborn, New Haven, Connecticut; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati; Frank C. Moore, president of the Government Affairs Foundation; Miss Rosalind G. Baldwin, also associated with the foundation; Paul A. Volcker, retired town manager of Teaneck, New Jersey.



National Municipal Review

Volume XLIV, No. 9

October 1955

Published monthly except August by the National Municipal League

NEWS OF THE LEAGUE	449
Group Eyes States' Problems	449
EDITORIAL COMMENT	452
The Wisdom of John Marshall	452
AN UNSOLVABLE PUZZLE?	<i>Frank C. Moore</i> 454
SLUM CLEARANCE PAYS OFF	<i>Donald Robinson</i> 461
DETROIT'S REGIONAL PLAN	<i>T. Ledyard Blakeman</i> 466

News in Review

CITY, STATE AND NATION	<i>H. M. Olmsted, Editor</i> 469
Connecticut Gets a Primary	<i>Duane Lockard</i> 469
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP	<i>Victor Jones and William N. Cassella, Jr., Editors</i> 477
County Charter Reform Discussed	477
TAXATION AND FINANCE	<i>Wade S. Smith, Editor</i> 481
State Tax Collections Reach New High	481
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION	<i>George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors</i> 485
Cumulative Voting Reviewed	<i>W.R.W.</i> 485
CITIZEN ACTION	<i>Elsie S. Parker, Editor</i> 487
Preparing for Politics	<i>William H. Eells</i> 487
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST	<i>Samuel K. Gove, Editor</i> 491
Universities Study State Problems	491
BOOKS IN REVIEW	494

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 2; editorial and business office, Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Copyright 1955 by the National Municipal League. Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50; single copies 50 cents. The contents of the Review are indexed in *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Editorial Comment

The Wisdom of John Marshall

IF THE states wish to strengthen their position in our system, they would be well advised to apply certain basic constitutional principles enunciated by John Marshall whose two hundredth anniversary was celebrated on September 24.

"The great chief justice" is recognized as one of the principal architects of our working constitution. In lucid opinions he gave life and substance to the language of some of its key provisions. He is particularly known for decisions which firmly established the right of the new nation to wield the authority which has enabled it to become one of the greatest and most beneficent powers the world has known. Chief Justice Marshall was able to accomplish this because the United States constitution was limited to matters of basic organization and fundamental principle and could, therefore, be interpreted so as to meet needs and exigencies of changing times. This conception of the constitution as fundamental rather than statute law is well expressed in his famous opinion in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*:

"A constitution, to contain an accurate detail of all the subdivisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, would partake of the prolixity of a legal code, and could scarcely be embraced by the human mind. It would probably never be understood by the public. Its nature, therefore, requires that only its great outlines should be

marked, its important objects designated, and the minor ingredients which compose those objects be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves. That this idea was entertained by the framers of the American constitution is not only to be inferred from the nature of the instrument but from the language."

Unfortunately for the states, many of them have wandered far from this classic concept of a written constitution. One of the most important sources of weaknesses in state government was pointed out by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations when it referred to "over-detailed provisions of state constitutions" which interfere in various ways with effective performance of state responsibilities. Unfortunately, the cramping effects of "prolixity" in state constitutions have been accentuated by judicial interpretation. While John Marshall established a tradition of liberal construction of federal power, state courts have tended to give maximum limiting effect to the detailed provisions that the states have written into their constitutions.

John Marshall, like most of the founding fathers, believed firmly in a strong union of strong states. The requirements of the time led him to concentrate upon building strength into the union. As the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has recently pointed out, the present time calls for similar attention to strengthening the state elements in our system. Marshall's prescription for a constitution, confined largely to

"great outlines" and "important objects," provides an excellent guide for future efforts to revise state constitutions. And John Marshall's principle of liberal construction could be

applied with benefit by some state courts in interpreting provisions of their own constitutions affecting the powers of state and local governments.

Manager as Civic Leader

Adapted from a portion of "Management for Large Cities," by John E. Bebout, *Public Administration Review*, Summer 1955.

THE council-manager plan has in the manager a leadership asset of no mean importance. There are no people more firm in their determination to keep managers out of politics in the ordinary sense of the word than the managers themselves. On the other hand, the manager is recognized not only as the council's agent for executing policy but also as the council's servant in developing plans and proposals for its consideration. While responsibility for public advocacy of proposed policies is vested in the council and in the mayor as its chief spokesman, the manager is responsible for maintaining a continuous flow of public information of the kind that provides a basis for public understanding and evaluation of policy proposals. Thus the code of ethics adopted by the International City Managers' Association describes the manager "as a community leader" who "submits policy proposals to the council and provides the council . . . a basis for making decisions on community goals."

Speaking of the same function of the manager, Leonard G. Howell, city manager of Des Moines, Iowa, and former president of the International City Managers' Association, listed as one of the obligations of the manager a duty to "assume his role

as a responsible civic leader — not a political leader — and act accordingly." Elaborating on this point, Mr. Howell declared that "a manager must be more than a technical administrator . . . he must find out the needs and desires of the people of his community and recommend to council solutions to those problems, including the ways and the means to accomplish them — he should be able to carry to the people of his city by word of mouth an accurate and competent account of what his city is doing — never as a political proposition but as one primarily interested in and responsible for the civic welfare of his community."

Anyone who has taken the trouble to follow the voluminous professional literature that flows from experience with council-manager government knows that an increasing amount of attention is being devoted to this aspect of the manager's function.

When a city hires a manager it should expect to hire not only a good generalist in municipal administration but also a sensitive civic and public relations consultant to the city council. Thus the manager is to the city government something like what an efficient executive secretary is to a large voluntary civic, welfare or other community agency.

An Unsolvable Puzzle?

Metropolitan problems bring frictions, frustrations to which only fractional approach has yet been made.

By FRANK C. MOORE*

IN ITS recent report, the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations said:

The metropolitan areas of the United States are the most important focal points for intergovernmental relations. . . . The people and the governments of the metropolitan areas cannot solve their problems with the governmental and private devices now available. . . . The metropolitan governments must surely be a major concern in any reshaping of the relations between the federal, state and local governments.

The problems of metropolitan areas have been discussed at almost every annual conference of the National Municipal League since 1920. In speaking about these difficulties at the Buffalo meeting of the League in 1950, Dr. Thomas H. Reed recalled that he had presented a paper on the same subject at the St. Louis meeting 25 years earlier.¹

Reviewing the intervening period, he said:

*Mr. Moore, former lieutenant governor of New York State, is president of the Government Affairs Foundation, Inc. He was formerly executive secretary of the New York State Association of Towns, state comptroller of New York State and chairman or member of numerous commissions on governmental affairs. This article is Mr. Moore's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Seattle, July 26, 1955.

¹See "Hope for 'Suburbanitis,'" the REVIEW, December 1950, page 542.

City planners and political scientists . . . have poured out millions of words . . . on the same theme, but frankness requires me to say that so far we have accomplished little more than a world's record of words used in proportion to cures effected.

If this be true—and I believe it is—how do we account for this unimpressive record?

It seems to me we find our answer in the inherent frictions of metropolitan areas, the fractional approaches of the past and the failure to utilize our greatest resources of helpfulness.

Within each metropolitan area there are many groups of persons linked together or divided by forces of differing kinds and strengths—traditions, community loyalties, ethnic and national backgrounds, economic interests, vocational points of view, media of mass persuasion and information, political practices and customs, religious affiliations, personal and family aspirations and neighborhood and other group contacts. Here we find conflicts of interest that produce retarding frictions.

Let me mention a few examples. In a typical metropolitan community the central city is usually suspected by its smaller neighbors of a desire to absorb their territory, to thrust off on them additional expense for common services, or to curtail their autonomy. When movements for the solution of area difficulties

originate in the central city—as they usually do—the smaller municipalities hold back, doubtful of the effect upon their respective communities, particularly in the distribution of the powers of government and the tax burden.

They are not persuaded to make local concessions for the over-all benefit of the area by the claims of the central city that its ailments are due to a dreadful disease known as "suburbanitis," nor by references to their home towns as "parasite" or "bedroom" communities. Instead they claim they are tributary streams bringing trade and prosperity into the central city. Sometimes they strike back by denying city residents access to their recreational and other advantages.

These intergovernmental frictions among urban, suburban and rural communities sometimes overflow the boundaries of the metropolitan area and extend to the legislative chambers at the state capitol.

Further frictions are created among the several local governments within a metropolitan area by the uneven distribution of needs for governmental services and resources to provide them.

In addition to these conflicts among governmental units, we have the rivalry among certain functions of government—not only for a larger share of the taxpayer's dollar but also for greater autonomy and freedom from the controls generally applicable to the other services of government. This competition among

Contentment may be desirable in cows but we humans cannot afford complacency—it is too dangerous.

Some dissatisfaction with the past and present is essential to further progress. By "dissatisfaction" I do not mean mere negative griping but rather that kind of affirmative eagerness for better things that prompted the creation of the National Municipal League in 1894 and motivated its activities since then.

For more than 60 years, this organization has sought out the weaknesses of our American system of government, developed appropriate remedies, and patiently but effectively worked for their adoption.

Fortunately for the nation, the leadership of the National Municipal League has never been made up of men and women who were contented with accomplishments of the past. Within the last two years it has re-appraised itself, strengthened its structure and moved toward still greater influence in the nation.

No other organization has done more to inspire and equip our citizens for effective action for the improvement of their government, especially at the local level.

To borrow from the ancient Chinese, "I would not do you the courtesy of flattery"—but I believe that the activities of the League—over the years—have had a substantial part in initiating the current inquiries into the functions of our federal, state and local governments and their inter-governmental relationships.

Opening remarks of Hon. Frank C. Moore at National Conference on Government, Seattle, July 26, 1955.

functions is not limited to those who administer the services but extends to professional and citizen organizations — sometimes unaffectionately called pressure groups.

Conflicts and frictions such as these exist in every metropolitan area and are a part of the problem, but we cannot blame our lack of success upon the complexities of the problem alone. We must also examine our methods of attempted solution.

Five years ago, at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League in Buffalo, Dr. Roscoe C. Martin pointed out the dangers of the trends towards specialization and separatism in the trades, in the professions, in education, in citizen groups and in government itself, and argued effectively for the "generalist" and the broad approach to our problems, especially those of government.²

We cannot disregard the fact that almost all past attempts to solve the problems of metropolitan areas have been based on isolated, unrelated and duplicative studies of fragments of the total problem.

This fractional approach is the inevitable result of the inclination of each group to pursue separately its special interests usually without regard to the many facets of the metropolitan problem and their interrelationships.

The approach may be "fractional" because it is directed against a segment rather than the total problem, or because the "task force" includes only a small part of those interested in the problem and equipped by

²See "'Therefore Is the Name . . . Babel,'" the REVIEW, February 1951, page 70.

knowledge, experience and viewpoint to contribute to its solution.

Metropolitan areas may be viewed as vast "going concerns," huge physical plants, economic and social structures—as well as aggregations of governments and public and quasi-public agencies. The economic and social aspects of metropolitan living must be studied to determine their relationships to the problems of government. Government must be seen in perspective as both a reflection and a cause of difficulties and satisfactions of metropolitan life. So viewed, the picture may reveal major shortcomings and possible avenues of improvement.

Why Research Has Failed

Some past studies have failed of result because they have been focused upon the difficulties of the central city without adequate consideration of the problems of the other governmental units within the area or of federal and state policies and practices affecting the entire community.

Occasionally the "functionalists"—aided and abetted by civic groups—have coaxed and coerced the channelling of the community's energy into partial attacks upon the problem along the line of their specialties.

These piecemeal attacks have frequently resulted in the creation of public authorities and special districts. If pursued generally, this could be the route to destruction of local government and popular control as we now know it. Where these devices have been employed they have usually postponed efforts to solve the

other over-all problems of the community and made their solution more difficult.

The political scientists, the economists, the sociologists and the planners have made their separate approaches instead of working together. Much of their literature has been written for the other members of their special group. By use of the technical lingo they have isolated the average citizen from understanding of their work and from effective cooperation with them.

By the fractional approach we have failed to make the best use of some of our resources for the solution of the metropolitan problem.

Over the years a huge reservoir of information, statistics and data has been accumulated concerning metropolitan areas. Review of past surveys, however, indicates a lack of general awareness of the existence and availability of these resources. Because of this, there has been considerable duplication of expense, effort and findings in metropolitan studies. Although we have not made the best use of existing research, we continue to add to the stockpile.

I am reminded of the upstate farmer who was invited to attend a meeting at which better farming practices would be discussed. In declining, the old farmer said, "Heck, I ain't farmin' as well as I know how now."

Our *understanding* of the facts disclosed by the research has not kept pace with our ability to accumulate them.

The Prime Minister and his associates of the British House of Commons, according to long established

tradition, must submit to questioning from time to time, usually by the opposition.

Upon one of these occasions, a critic directed his inquiries to Winston Churchill. When the Prime Minister concluded his answer, the questioner rose to complain that he had listened patiently but he had not been given much understanding of the matter. Mr. Churchill replied, "I have given you the facts. Only God can give you understanding."

Help from Citizens

In the studies heretofore made of metropolitan problems, we have not utilized sufficiently our resources of citizen help. Interested citizens usually have an important role in initiating and financing efforts to solve metropolitan difficulties but a lesser part in the development of the definite program—the stage where they are most needed because of their general knowledge of the community.

Nothing in my experience in government has impressed me more than the contributions of citizens committees to the solution of some of the toughest problems confronting our state of New York in the last decade—problems that were complicated, politically unattractive but, nevertheless, most important. These problems have included such subjects as: state aid to the localities, tax and debt limitations, city-school fiscal relations, local non-property taxes, teachers' salaries, school buildings.

In the aggregate, these committees made numerous recommendations for changes in the statutes and constitution of the state. Over a period of ten years, every recommendation was

approved by the legislature and by the governor, if a statute, or by the people, if a constitutional amendment.

These citizen committees have demonstrated the ability of public officials and taxpayers, businessmen and educators, upstaters and downstaters, Republicans and Democrats, to work together successfully. They have paid rich dividends in helpfulness to our state—and in better citizens.

Political Leaders

Nobody, but nobody, could be more helpful to the solution of metropolitan difficulties than the political leaders, but they are rarely called upon to help in developing the program. They are merely expected to provide the favorable votes at the referendum.

No one is accused more often or more vehemently of obstructing the solution of metropolitan difficulties than the public official, alias "politician." Because of an alleged conflict of interest he has been the "whipping boy" for many claiming eagerness for better government and particularly those who seek to explain away the failures resulting from their own ineptness.

In presenting Saint Gaudens' statue of Lincoln to the British people in London in 1920, Elihu Root said:

Politics is the practical exercise of the art of self-government, and somebody must attend to it if we are to have self-government; somebody must study it, and learn the art, and exercise patience and sympathy and skill to bring the multitude of opinions and wishes of self-governing people into such order that some

prevailing opinion may be expressed and peaceably accepted. Otherwise, confusion will result either in dictatorship or anarchy. The principal ground of reproach against any American citizen should be that he is not a politician. Everyone ought to be, as Lincoln was.

A successful political leader is a "generalist." He must be to survive. No one has greater skill in eliminating frictions or in uniting fractions. No one has more "know-how" for translating governmental objectives into results. No one is more sensitive to the importance of proper timing or better able to select the moment for action.

The political leaders of today are persuaded, as never before, that "good government is good politics." But if you want the help of the political leader, he must be admitted to full partnership in the movement from the very beginning and not as an afterthought to obtain the support of the state or local legislative body or the voters for the program he had no part in developing.

If we are to avoid further frustrations from metropolitan frictions and fractions, we must enlist the help of political leadership at all levels of government.

How can we attack in a democratic, comprehensive and effective way the problems of the metropolitan areas of the nation in which more than half of its people reside?

It is significant that the Kestnbaum Commission, in its recent report says:

The time is long overdue for an intensive nationwide study of governmental areas with special attention to

metropolitan communities. The study should engage the cooperation of national, state and local governments, as well as universities, private foundations and civic agencies.

Within recent months, the President has called upon the states to take the lead in attacking the problems of metropolitan areas. He has characterized those problems as both a challenge and an opportunity.

Our states vary considerably in the distribution of the functions of government—between the states and their subdivisions, and among the subdivisions. The municipal and other subdivisions are the creations of the state. Of necessity they must look to their states for assistance in removing constitutional, statutory and other road blocks to the solution of their difficulties, functional and fiscal.

For example, under the constitution of New York State, our local governments have been too compartmentalized. Two or more municipalities have been prevented from cooperating to provide, by joint action, a common service. To avoid the waste of constructing and maintaining separate and duplicated facilities they have been forced to surrender normal activities of local government to the public authorities.

Unless the states move to overcome the combined effects of archaic local assessing practices and the present legal restrictions upon local borrowing and taxing powers, they may expect the localities to look increasingly to the federal and state governments for grants in aid.

Local ability to perform more

functions depends on their having fiscal strength to support them. The states in their Council of State Governments have a splendid agency for the exchange of ideas and programs and for cooperative action throughout the nation against obstacles such as these.

An Idea, Not a Unit

Political scientists, planners and others have complained that the metropolitan region is still an idea and not a governmental unit. Before we attempt to devise new units or agencies of government to meet the needs of metropolitan areas, we should make certain that our present types of government cannot do the job. Perhaps they could if given adequate power.

In my own state, the county is the "up and coming" unit of local government. Its powers have been steadily expanding in the last ten or fifteen years. With some strengthening of its structure the county might be used to solve most of the metropolitan problems in New York State.

Regard for practicalities, however, demands that the program for a particular area be primarily a local product—tailored by local workmen to fit the specific community—if the results are to be accepted and to work successfully. In other words, we must use prescriptions and not patent medicines, to cure the ailments of metropolitan areas.

For success on the national, state and local fronts, we must abandon the fractional approaches of the past and bring about cooperation on a broad basis. We must pool and uti-

lize our vast resources of knowledge, experience, energies and support.

Our main objective, I believe, should be to equip and encourage public officials and citizens for effective action at the community level.

Collect Information

The first step would be to bring together all our resources of information concerning metropolitan areas and to make its existence and content widely known and available. By examination of the voluminous literature of the last 25 or 30 years, and some cooperative thinking, we should attempt to define what we mean by the "metropolitan problem" and establish its boundaries. We should endeavor to describe the kind of a metropolitan community in which we want to live—with intermediate and ultimate goals.

In considering routes to these objectives, we must analyze the more important surveys of the past to determine the reasons for their occasional or partial success as well as their usual failures. We should end up with a road map indicating the best routes to success.

We should make better known our

resources of trained personnel and their specialties.

All of this should be initiated by the cooperative effort of many groups. In such a movement the National Municipal League should have an important role.

What assurance can I give you of success? Perhaps none.

In the first World War you would find conspicuously displayed in every hangar of the Royal Air Force a sign which said, "If you get into a jam, for God's sake do something."

In one of his longer, lovelier but less known poems, Robert Browning says,

A man's reach should exceed his
grasp

Or what's a heaven for.

—*Andrea del Sarto*

In these simple words, Browning points out that man can attain better things if he will seek them.

The frustrations of the last three decades could be mere prologue to a new period of exciting progress in the metropolitan communities of the nation.

We shall never know—unless we try this new approach.

Slum Clearance Pays Off

Renders dividends by raising assessed valuations, cutting crime rate, improving health and morale.

By DONALD ROBINSON*

I HAVE just completed a country-wide survey of the effects of the nation's drive against slums. I can report that it has boosted adjoining land values, improved business and raised tax receipts. It is also saving taxpayers millions of dollars in reduced police and fire protection expenditures, welfare charges and hospital costs. As President Eisenhower remarked recently, "It is good business to fight slums."

The slum problem is one of enormous dimensions. According to the U. S. Public Housing Administration, some seven million of our 45,900,000 dwellings are practically unfit for humans to live in. Millions of other homes are rapidly approaching that state. Federal records show that these slums account for no less than 45 per cent of major crimes, 50 per cent of arrests, 55 per cent of juvenile delinquency, 60 per cent of tuberculosis cases, 50 per cent of all diseases and 35 per cent of fires.

The financial cost of slums is gigantic. Those in Atlanta were at last count consuming 53 per cent of all city services and paying only about 6 per cent of the real estate tax. In Baltimore, every acre of slums was

producing a deficit of \$2,500 a year for the municipal government.

Two years ago, New York City officials decided to learn exactly what financial effect a slum clearance project has on the area surrounding it. The Red Hook public housing project in Brooklyn was chosen for the experiment and the officials started studying the tax records of every building within a distance of one and, in some instances, two city blocks of the project. In all they covered 30 square blocks around the project, the area where its influence could be directly felt in terms of trade and commerce. They found that the total assessed valuation of the buildings in this area was \$2,989,125 when the site was acquired in 1938. By the time of their investigation, it was \$4,484,500—a rise of 50 per cent. In contrast, property values in Brooklyn as a whole had risen only 23 per cent during the same period.

A private slum clearance project in Manhattan did even better. This was Stuyvesant Town, erected by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company between 1945 and 1949. Assessed valuations on the 32-block area bordering Stuyvesant Town had in 1953 increased 68 per cent since the site was acquired, and they're higher now. On one three-block stretch along 14th Street, they are up 192 per cent.

*Mr. Robinson, a writer since he was thirteen years old, was for several years labor editor of the *New York Journal American*. His articles have appeared in *The Reader's Digest*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Nation's Business* and many other leading publications. He is also author of several books.

Some public housing projects built on vacant land have had fantastic effects on land values. Waterman Gardens in San Bernardino, California, is one example; Trumbull Park Homes in Chicago is another. Before Trumbull Park Homes were built in 1937, property along 106th Street and Torrence Avenue, adjoining the project, was worth \$25 per front foot. Two years after the project was opened it was \$30 a front foot; recently some of it was selling at \$100 a front foot.

Pittsburgh Values Zoom

For a spectacular example of zooming property values, look at what occurred in Pittsburgh after a drive was launched in 1949 to rehabilitate 60 slum acres. The state ripped down every building in one half of the area and made it into a park. Simultaneously, the city's Urban Redevelopment Authority built a housing project on the remaining land. By the beginning of this year, despite the fact that 30 acres had been taken off the tax rolls, land values alone in that rehabilitated district had soared \$10,500,000. Leslie J. Reese, director of the Pennsylvania Economy League, says, "The redevelopment program has affected the entire city, and it is estimated that the over-all gain during the first five years of this program was \$35,000,000 in valuation."

These jumps in land values have been a bonanza for hard pressed city governments. New York City is reaping \$134,310 a year additional taxes on an area of just twelve square blocks adjacent to the Wald-Riis project. Altogether, it is estimated

that New York is making more than two million dollars in extra taxes from land whose worth has been boosted because it adjoins the city's 33 slum clearance projects.

Now, take a small town. Murfreesboro, Tennessee, used to collect \$2,000 a year in taxes on its slum areas. Then it launched an intensive campaign to rehabilitate slum buildings. Today it expects to collect \$20,000 in taxes on these same areas, a gain that is nothing to sneeze at in a town of 13,000 people where every penny counts to the municipal government. In a medium sized city like Perth Amboy, New Jersey, (population 41,330) it is estimated that redevelopment of slum areas will increase tax receipts from \$23,621 to more than \$170,000.

The public housing projects themselves usually pay into the city coffers 10 per cent of the rentals they take in. This is much more than the city ever got out of the slums that preceded the projects. At last report, Memphis, Tennessee, was getting \$95,444 in payments from its seven public housing projects. If the slum buildings these projects replaced were still standing, their total tax payments, under current rates, would be only \$35,649.

Real inroads are being made in the slum situation by means of a three-pronged attack. The first, and biggest, is the public housing program. In it the federal government (plus a few state governments) has been helping cities to raze slums and erect low-rent housing for needy families. Since 1935, nearly 2,000 projects have been completed which provide room for almost two million people.

Now under construction are 10,000 public housing units and 25,905 more will soon be going up. In all, they will take care of approximately 150,000 people.

Second is the rehousing being done by private enterprise. Life insurance companies and other firms have cleared slum areas and constructed housing developments for hundreds of thousands of people.

Third is urban rehabilitation, one of the measures in the nationwide citizens' campaign sparked by A.C.T.I.O.N., the American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods. Through more rigid enforcement of housing codes and the voluntary co-operation of landlords, slum sections have been renovated in scores of cities. More than 110,000 buildings have been salvaged since January 1, 1952.

In the case of private slum clearance projects, the companies involved carry the principal load but government aid is provided in some instances in the form of municipal tax exemptions, and federal mortgage guarantees are now available. City-sponsored public housing is financed by the sale of long-term local housing authority bonds. About \$2,400,000,000 have been floated to date, and \$160,000,000 of them repaid.

Public Health Improves

The fight on slums has had tangible effects in the health field. Dr. Jay Rumney, professor of sociology at the University of Newark, New Jersey, made a two-year study comparing the health records of tenants in three Newark public housing projects with those of people living in

three slum areas—the same sort of areas from which the majority of the public housing tenants had originally come. Dr. Rumney found that in the 15- to 40-year-old age groups, the number of new cases of tuberculosis was six per 1,000 people in the slums—and 3.3 in the public housing projects. There were 40.6 infant deaths per 1,000 births in the slums, only 34.7 in the projects. Among children under the age of fifteen the incidence of communicable diseases— whooping cough, measles, scarlet fever, chicken pox, mumps and German measles—ran 163.5 per 1,000 in the slums, 114.2 in the projects. In sum, there were 45 per cent fewer cases of tuberculosis, fifteen per cent fewer infant deaths and 31 per cent fewer cases of children's diseases.

Dr. Rumney's findings prove that Newark taxpayers are saving hundreds of thousands of dollars a year on ambulance runs, visiting nurse calls and hospital care as a result of the higher health levels achieved in the public housing projects. A Newark ambulance driver was explicit on this score. Talking about one slum area now replaced by a public housing project, he remarked, "I'd hate to count all the last-ditch tuberculosis cases I used to move out of that district. Now I don't see a bad case of tuberculosis in that section for months at a time."

Baltimore's rehabilitation plan is reported to have been a factor in a 45 per cent drop in the tuberculosis death rate, and in Miami the health department has noted a 50 per cent drop.

Juvenile delinquency is a sphere in

which the fight on slums has had impressive, concrete effects. Cleveland authorities discovered that the delinquency rate among 4,018 boys and girls between the ages of seven and seventeen in six low-rent housing projects averaged only 1.57 per cent, whereas in the slum areas adjoining the housing projects the rate was 2.26 per cent. In Philadelphia the discrepancy was even more noteworthy. The rate of juvenile delinquency arrests in fifteen public housing projects was 2.1 per cent, but in the slum areas, where most of the public housing children lived formerly, the rate ranged as high as 11.6 per cent.

Crime Reduced

Good reasons exist, of course, for the lower juvenile delinquency rate in the public housing projects. One is the better home life they afford. A second is that many projects provide clubs and recreational facilities for youngsters. A third is that the managers of most projects won't tolerate serious misconduct by children of the tenants. Last year a gang of youngsters in a Savannah, Georgia, project got out of hand and tried to set fire to one of the project buildings. The parents of the children claimed that they couldn't do anything to stop the vandalism. "We just can't control our children," they wailed.

The manager was adamant. "Either you make your kids behave, or out you go." Overnight, the parents decided that they would make their children toe the line. The children did.

During his Newark study Dr.

Rumney compared the school records of 93 slum children before and after they had been rehoused. He found that they had improved 7 per cent in attendance, 10 per cent in academic grades, 16 per cent in personality development grades and 19 per cent in health habit grades.

Mrs. Albert Johnson, a widow who lives with her three children in a New York City project, said to me, "When we lived in a scummy tenement down on Hester Street my Jimmy hated school and played hookey all the time. Now you can't keep him away. I think it's because Jimmy doesn't feel ashamed of his home like he used to. He can hold up his head in front of the rest of the kids."

Yamacraw Village, formerly one of Savannah's most notorious sections, is a good illustration of the impact of slum clearance on crime. According to the Savannah police department, before Yamacraw Village was built, 19 per cent of Savannah's crime originated in that area. Now the figure is less than one per cent.

In Louisville and Norfolk the story is the same. Recently Lawrence A. Cox, executive director of the Norfolk Housing Authority, asked a desk sergeant in the second precinct what the effects of slum clearance had been. "You people are running us out of business," the sergeant replied.

In Baltimore a detective told me: "I know one place in town where it wasn't safe for a man to walk even in the daytime—you were practically sure to be mugged. The cops were afraid to patrol there by themselves.

Now even women can go out alone at night.

"You want to know why? All the hoodlums have moved away. 'Hoods' are like rats. They hate to live in a decent environment. They're happy only when they're surrounded by filth."

I found that better housing has materially reduced fire losses. In one slum section of Fort Worth, Texas, the number of fires dropped 56 per cent in the five years after a public housing project was erected. In Cleveland, after the Carver Park public housing project was built, fire runs decreased 51 per cent while in the adjacent slums they increased 5 per cent. In Newark, Dr. Rumney found there were nearly four times as many fires in slums as in public housing projects. Figuring fire runs at \$100 each, he estimated the cost of fire protection at \$1,115 per 1,000 dwellings in the slums, whereas for public housing it was only \$295.

No Life Lost by Fire

A more important saving is in human lives. Last year a majority of the 133 New Yorkers who were burned to death were living in slums. But not one life has been lost by fire in New York City public housing projects, in which about 300,000 people live. Similarly with fatal home accidents which numbered 25 per 10,000 persons in the

slums against none in the housing projects.

It is sometimes charged that people accustomed to living in slums are incapable of appreciating better homes. "They turn them into pigsties," the saying goes. But the fact is that most tenants of low-rent housing projects are so proud of their apartments they keep them spotless. The New York City Housing Authority had to evict less than 200 of its 74,459 leaseholders last year for failure to take care of their apartments. Of the 7,800 persons in the Jacob Riis Houses when I visited there, only twelve families were giving trouble because of bad house-keeping habits.

One more by-product of the fight on slums is worth mentioning. A study in North Carolina several years ago revealed that one third of 194 white families and one half of 112 Negro families who left public housing developments moved into their own homes. A sampling in Louisville demonstrated that 414 of 764 white and Negro families who departed low-rent projects between 1940 and 1950 bought homes.

Charles E. Slusser, who heads the Public Housing Administration, is proud of this showing. "Public housing creates hope," he says, "and hope for the future is the fuel that powers the engines of private enterprise."

Detroit's Regional Plan

Metropolitan commission finds citizen participation and advisory committees vital to public acceptance.

By T. LEDYARD BLAKEMAN*

THIS article will discuss comprehensive physical planning, not the social and economic planning which should precede it, or the fiscal planning, site planning and engineering design which should follow it. Furthermore, it will discuss only that type of comprehensive planning service which should be provided a metropolitan area. In other words, metropolitan planning.

Let us make the assumption that there is no local government having jurisdiction over the whole area to be planned and that the metropolitan planning agency itself has no power to enforce its recommendations. Finally, let us assume that what we want in the last analysis is actually to produce on the ground a more pleasant, healthy and efficient physical environment in the metropolitan area. This is the end toward which the whole program of the Detroit Area Regional Planning Commission is pointed. We want results. It is not enough to produce plans; it is not enough to get out a steady flow of booklets, pamphlets and publicity. We must do all of these things, but much more.

*Mr. Blakeman is executive director of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission and president of the Council of Metropolitan Regional Organizations. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Seattle, July 27, 1955.

Benefiting from many years of making mistakes in the field of local, state and metropolitan planning, I have come up with some fairly definite ideas on what a metropolitan planning service must contain. Let me name the major elements:

1. There must be good basic and continuing research;
2. There must be a comprehensive metropolitan plan for land use and major services;
3. There must be a method for keeping in continuous contact with the local governments of the area.

These are the three basic elements without which I don't think even a minimum service can be rendered in metropolitan planning.

Assuming adequate funds, I should also like to see two other elements both of which may be provided by other agencies but which should be based on research and planning:

An important corollary would be a strong, well organized citizen participation program;

Finally, there should be an intelligent industrial promotion operation to fire the ammunition developed by the research and planning operation.

No publicly financed agency can afford to do all the research that should be done as a base for a metropolitan plan or for any comprehensive plan. A lot of it never has been done and a lot of it probably never will be done. We in government

must limit our drilling to proven deposits. We cannot afford to go deeper than or outside of the established field. The major exploration must be left to foundations or subsidized university studies.

Furthermore, our research must be primarily that which applies to the metropolitan rather than to the national, regional, state or local level. This is not to say that data even of a national scope may not have to be studied but only as they apply directly to the problems and possibility of the particular metropolitan area. On the other hand, we have found it desirable to carry our metropolitan studies down almost to the local level so that the current local planning and engineering design can be somewhat more realistic. Also, we have found that provision of such information is excellent local relations while the plan is being developed. It helps to get appropriations.

The effect on local planning and services, however, is the real reason for dropping the research down to a level where the local people can use it. Experience with the fringes of the New York and Philadelphia metropolitan areas when I worked with the state of New Jersey, and now in the Detroit area, has convinced me that local planning in metropolitan areas where there is no metropolitan planning is likely to be unrealistic. Except for some minor land use adjustments and street planning, there is not much benefit from such planning. The trouble is that, as Chief Justice Vanderbilt of New Jersey says, industrial location is a metropolitan problem and not one that can be determined by any

one segment of the metropolis. In other words, without studying industrial and resultant population trends for the whole area, it is impossible for one community to determine the demand for its industrial or residential land over a period of years.

Metropolitan Plan

The same may be said about the metropolitan plan. The plan is, of course, to a large extent a reflection of the social and economic research tempered by existing physical conditions and desirable living and working goals. It gives the local governments, business, industry and the home buyers a greater assurance that their plans won't be upset by a superhighway or screwy zoning on the part of a neighbor.

But let's take a look now at this metropolitan plan. How is it different from a city plan? A large part of metropolitan or state planning is deciding when *not* to do what. If you start right off doing local planning and other odd jobs you will run into trouble in two ways. First, because there is no regional plan your local plans may kick back on you. Second, unless you have unlimited funds you probably won't get a metropolitan plan with which to make your real contribution.

It is my belief that the first stage of the metropolitan plan must be general. For instance, in making its inventory of available land for various uses, the Detroit region considered only areas of the following or greater sizes:

On-rail manufacturing	160 acres
Residential	320 acres
Commercial	40 acres
Recreation	160 acres

In the tentative land use plan we did, of course, include some smaller sections left over after field checking. We did not, however, show neighborhood or even small community commercial use nor did we show housing types. There is no indication in the residential area as to varying densities. There is no indication of intensity of use in the park and open space proposals.

In the studies of water, sewer and highways, only the major elements were plotted and in the plans for these services only these major elements will be indicated.

If competent local planning were universal in the metropolis, we might never have to drop to a more detailed level. This, however, is not the case. Therefore, we in Detroit are starting a program to bring the land use plan down almost to the local level.

Local Contact

Detailing the regional plan is the latest of a long series of cooperative projects the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission has conducted with the local governments through the medium of groups called development councils. Back in 1948, when the commission got started, we did not have much staff yet we knew that we had to keep in touch with the local governments of the region if we were to stay alive, if our planning was to be realistic and if the plan was to be used. On the other hand, the staff would have been nothing but a bunch of tourists if it had tried to maintain contact with 129 separate sets of local officials. The solution was to cut down the number of contacts.

After playing around with trade areas, etc., for a while we finally came up with a rather arbitrary solution. We grouped anywhere from seven to fifteen communities into what were called development areas. This was done on the basis of fragmentary land use and transportation data. We then sent a regional map of these areas to the top official of each city, village and township, with an explanation of the purpose, and asked if he thought it was in the proper development area. We made changes as requested and then began organizing councils in the urbanized areas near Detroit.

These development or planning councils are composed of two or three representatives from each community in the development area. Generally members of the planning commission and legislative body are appointed. They meet about once a month in the urban areas and once a quarter in the rural sections. Usually some one from the staff attends whether or not we have something to discuss with them.

In addition to these local development councils the commission also has about two hundred officials, industrialists and businessmen working with it on advisory committees. These committees vary from one on research to one composed of industrial development people. Every phase of our program has had an advisory committee from the very beginning of that type of work. They tell us what the problems are in their specialty and help us to work out the program of study. Then, they help get the field information and analyze

(Continued on page 498)

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Connecticut Gets a Primary

Law Applies Only When Convention Is Challenged

DURING the 1955 session of the Connecticut General Assembly, the state lost one of her distinctions: she ceased to be the only state without a primary in any form on her statute books. Two conditions had postponed a primary: the evenness of the competition between the major parties, which tended to focus attention on the inter- rather than the intraparty conflict, and the strength of the party leadership, who naturally preferred the convention system. Neither of these conditions has disappeared but luck and some clever maneuvering nevertheless produced a primary, to be used only under certain conditions.

The party primary movement has never been strong in Connecticut. Some agitation came from industrialist Vivien Kellums, a Republican rebel and perennial candidate, who repeatedly denounced the convention system and called for a primary in the course of her many TV appearances. Her activities may have helped induce both parties to include primary planks in their 1954 platforms.

Even so, when the 1955 legislative session opened, few observers felt the primary had a chance. A handful of ardent supporters existed—some legislators, representatives of the League of Women Voters and the state C.I.O.—but other than that there was neither much support for, nor much public awareness of, the issue. Most of the party leaders were deeply opposed, a bad sign indeed.

The opposition position was this: we have nominated good candidates in Con-

nnecticut, our politics has not been corrupt, the introduction of a primary will mean only the rich can afford to run for office and certain dominant minorities within the parties will exclude all other candidates, e.g., the Yankees in the Republican party and the Irish in the Democratic.

As Senate chairman of the elections committee, I heard these arguments endlessly as well as the stock pleas for a primary. Initially the opposition sought to get a divided report from the joint committee—one bill in the House and another in the Senate. Then each could pass its bill and refuse to compromise. Then they sought a primary for local offices only, excluding state level officers entirely. Both moves failed. Next, they tried to amend the bill so that it would be unacceptable to the other house (one being Democratic, the other Republican) so as to saddle the other house with the responsibility for killing it. It took five trips between the two houses before the bill became law, and then only a special session, called to handle problems unsettled by the regular session, saved it from oblivion.

Luckily there was a struggle on for control of the Republican party at the time the bill was being considered. The temporarily dominant group feared that Bill Brennan, G.O.P. boss of Fairfield County, might get control of the party from them, and they wanted the primary to fight back with. Thus many Republican legislators were more amenable to the primary than they had ever been before, permitting the ardent primary supporters to turn the heat on the Democrats. If the Republicans were for it, the Democrats had to be, although a good many Democrats wanted a primary as much as anyone. It is safe to say, however, that the law would never have passed in any form but for the fear of

the parties for ultimate voter retribution at the polls, since to an unusual degree in Connecticut the parties feel that their legislative record plays a considerable role in state elections.

The law, as finally passed, provides for primaries by challenge only. The convention system goes on as before, but an unsuccessful convention candidate who polls as much as 20 per cent of the convention vote can force a primary (no one else can run in or force a primary) by getting signatures of party members to a petition (5,000 names for a statewide office, grading down to 5 per cent of the enrolled party members for lesser offices) and by paying a filing fee. At the municipal level, the ancient caucus system is repealed, allowing nomination by the "town committee" of the local party with procedures thereafter similar to those for higher offices in case of challenge.

The law calls for a strictly closed primary and it covers all candidates to elective office, except where municipal non-partisan elections are held, and delegates to conventions—national conventions excepted—and some though not all party officials.

This new law is, of course, a hybrid, an attempt to have primaries without curtailing too far the functioning of the party organizations. What its future will be no one can foretell, but this much, at least, is certain: it will not be the catastrophe its opponents said it would be nor the coming of the political millenium as some of the more enthusiastic proponents predicted.

DUANE LOCKARD

*Assistant Professor of Government
Connecticut College*

Florida Enacts New Presidential Primary Law

The Florida legislature has passed and the governor has signed a new law providing for a changed method of holding presidential primaries in that state.

The 1952 experience of Florida with the presidential preference primary indicated, at the least, that some modifications were sorely needed. The spectacle that greeted the voters — three different delegate slates on the ballot for Senator Richard Russell of Georgia—was a farcical demonstration of independence and factionalism run riot. Therefore, William A. F. Stephenson, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee for Pinellas County, after consultation with leading Democratic and Republican party leaders last fall, sought advice from Dr. Manning J. Dauer, head of the Department of Political Science of the University of Florida, on how to improve the primary. The actual task of drafting the changes was assigned to the author, who drew directly upon the advice of Dr. Dauer and Dr. Paul T. David of the Brookings Institution and indirectly from Richard S. Childs of the National Municipal League and Dr. Louise Overacker of Wellesley College.

It was desired that the primary be held at a time of year when leading presidential candidates could be attracted and, further, when they could come to Florida. The time for the primary has accordingly been set in May. The requirements for participation, it was felt by Republican leaders, should be rigid enough to compel their party to hold an election; otherwise they, as well as the Democrats, would be plagued continually with "Republicrats." The revised law provides that each party casting 10 per cent of the vote for governor or with 10 per cent of the statewide registration must hold a presidential primary. Delegate candidates, "in number equal to the number of state-at-large delegates and the number of district delegates for at least half the congressional districts in the state," are grouped on the ballot under the name of a candidate for president or, if they prefer, under a heading of "Expressing no preference." No delegate may file for more than one group and no more than one group may file for one

presidential candidate, though there are no limits on "no preference" groups. If more than one group attempts to file for a single presidential aspirant, he may choose the one to appear on the ballot or, if he does not, the first filed will appear.

Delegate candidates will appear on the ballot under two divisions. On top will be the delegates-at-large for the whole state and on the bottom will be the district delegates, divided, as is traditional in Florida, equally between men and women. A voter will indicate his choice for president and a group of delegates by making a single cross in a circle above the particular group supporting the man for president whom he prefers. In order to provide for the possibility that a particular group may not be filled out in all districts, the state-at-large delegates can, after they are elected, select delegates for the unfilled districts, provided the at-large group has been chosen by a plurality of the voters from the district. Otherwise the district delegation contained within another grouping will be elected from that district.

The delegate groups themselves are to choose an organizing chairman who is to be so identified on the ballot. He may become the permanent chairman of the delegation, if elected, but in any case he is charged with the responsibility for calling a post-primary meeting of the elected delegates for purposes of organization of the delegation. Each delegate, as has always been true in Florida, will have authority to choose his or her alternate, with two possible exceptions. The national committeeman and national committeewoman, unless they are elected as delegates to the national convention, automatically become the alternates to the last two state-at-large delegates.

These changes are a product of the thinking of both practical politicians and political scientists and should serve as a beginning towards making the presidential primary a meaningful expression of the public will. By providing voter choice

and by strengthening the ties between the voter's choice and the delegation, it is felt that the presidential primary in Florida can be a much more representative institution than has been true in the past.

BRUCE B. MASON

University of Florida

Reorganization Measures in North Carolina

The 1955 North Carolina legislature, according to the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina, has approved a substantial portion of the recommendations of the report of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government,¹ including the following:

Transfer of the pre-audit functions of the State Auditor to the Budget Bureau (a part of the Governor's office).

Transfer of budgetary control of the State Auditor and State Treasurer from the Budget Bureau to the Advisory Budget Commission, thus removing such control from the executive branch.

Whereas the commission had recommended transfer of the functions of the State Board of Assessment to the Department of Revenue, the legislature continued the board for assessment of public utility property but repealed its power to hear appeals of decisions of the Revenue Commission on tax liability.

Responsibility for promulgating tax rules and regulations (recommended by the commission to be transferred to the Tax Review Board) were left with the Revenue Commissioner, subject to approval by the Tax Review Board; detailed procedures for administrative review by the board, and subsequent appeal to the courts, are spelled out.

Whereas the commission recommended appointment of a full-time chairman of the Tax Review Board and removal of the Revenue Commissioner therefrom, the

¹ See the REVIEW, May 1955, page 253.

legislature decided that the board be comprised of the state treasurer, as chairman, the director of the Department of Tax Research and the chairman of the Utilities Commission, with the Revenue Commissioner to serve on the board only when it passes on petitions of foreign corporations seeking franchise or income tax formula adjustments.

The governor is authorized to appoint such personal staff as necessary to perform effectively the responsibilities of his office and to designate a personal representative to attend meetings and act in his behalf, in carrying out his *ex officio* duties. He is relieved of the duty of appointing justices of the peace and forest rangers. Notaries public are still to be appointed by him, although the commission would have transferred this duty to the Superior Court clerks. The commission would have repealed the requirement of Senate confirmation of many appointments of the governor, but this was continued by the legislature.

A single state library agency is established in lieu of the overlapping State Library, State Documents Library and Library Commission.

The Historic Sites Commission is abolished, its functions being taken over by the Department of Archives and History.

The Crop Pest Commission, the Tobacco Commission and the State Board of Rural Rehabilitation are abolished, their functions, so far as necessary, being taken over by the Department of Agriculture; but the State Marketing Authority, also proposed for abolition, was retained.

Administration of the state prison system is vested in the Director of Prisons, instead of in the Highway Commission as formerly; he is appointed for a four-year term subject to removal only for cause after notice and hearing, and is to function under rules and regulations established by him with the approval of the Prison Advisory Council, the Highway Commission and the governor.

Prison supervisory personnel are now prohibited from using their positions to influence elections or the political action of any person.

Studies to determine the feasibility of completely separating the prison system from the State Highway and Public Works Commission are directed to be carried out by the chairman of that commission, the chairman of the Prison Advisory Council and the Director of Prisons.

Among recommendations not approved at the session were one to establish a merit system office in the Personnel Department under the supervision of a new five-member Personnel Council, instead of under a separate Merit System Council; one to centralize industrial safety activities in the Department of Labor, and one to simplify regulation of building construction.

As recommended by the old commission, provision for a new commission to continue the study of the state's government has been made, and the governor has appointed a nine-member Commission on Reorganization of State Government, to report its findings and recommendations by November 15, 1956. Its expenses are to be met from the contingency and emergency fund.

Maryland State Organization Group Gets under Way

In Maryland a new Commission on State Programs, Organization and Finance plans to make an over-all survey of state growth and fiscal planning, according to Chairman Harry J. Green. It contemplates an agency-by-agency investigation thereafter. An immediate study of the State Roads Commission will be undertaken, however, at the request of Governor McKeldin.

Simon E. Sobeloff, solicitor general of the United States, who formerly headed an earlier Maryland study group—the Commission on Administrative Re-

organization—met with the new commission on August 17 and discussed plans and procedures. He suggested that the group should rely heavily on "experience, know-how and brain power right here at home," and that it examine proposals of the former commission that have not yet been adopted. Many of its proposals, particularly as to municipal home rule and performance budgeting, have become law, but various others, including county home rule, a more independent state auditor and a revision of procedures of the Board of Public Works, have not been accomplished. Mr. Sobeloff urged that steps be taken to improve long-range planning in Maryland.

Committee on Government Operations in N. Y. State

The New York State legislature established a Joint Legislative Committee on Government Operations in April 1955, with a \$75,000 appropriation, but the key post of chief counsel was not filled until September 4, when Arnold Bauman, an assistant U.S. district attorney in New York City, was appointed. The chairman of the committee is Assemblyman William F. Horan of Tuckahoe.

As the legislature has Republican majorities while the governor and other elective state officers, except the attorney general, are Democrats, the legislative committee has been dubbed a "watchdog."

State Records Management Studied in Illinois

A study of paper work and records management in the Illinois state government, to be made by a specialist or organization of specialists in this field, has been authorized by the recent legislature, with an appropriation to Secretary of State Charles Carpenter of up to \$200,000 for this purpose. An advisory committee of state officials was created

to advise with and assist the person or persons selected to make the study.

The Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois commends the study and urges that trained and expert permanent state employees be provided for, in order that recommendations may be carried out in day-to-day operations of the state government.

Idaho to Vote on Governor's Succession

A proposed constitutional amendment to allow unlimited succession to the office of governor has been approved by the Idaho legislature and will be submitted to the voters in 1956.

According to the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, sixteen states now prohibit the governor from serving consecutive terms; five states limit the governor to two consecutive terms; and the remaining 27 states have no limit. None of the nineteen states that provide for two-year terms limit the governor's succession.

U. S. Government Training City Employees

The United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare has announced a series of training programs for professional personnel from municipal health and water departments and air pollution control agencies. The course headquarters are at the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center of the U.S. Public Health Service in Cincinnati. Recent research developments and the best current practices are included in the instructions. According to the *American Municipal News*, arrangements can be made to conduct training programs in other cities in conjunction with regional groups of municipalities or with state leagues and associations. No tuition is charged and municipal employees are eligible if their work corresponds to the

Public Health Service programs. In addition the service offers extensive training in civil defense for public health employees, waterworks personnel and other municipal workers.

Connecticut Assists Cities to Re-plan

Governor Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut announced on August 30 that he would, where desired, hire planning experts to assist flood-damaged communities in redevelopment and reconstruction projects, and would pay for their services out of a \$100,000 contingency fund. Frederick P. Clarke, of Rye, New York, former president of the American Institute of Planners, will assist in the selection of planning experts but will not handle any of the work himself.

The governor pointed out that the damaged communities have an unequaled opportunity for improvement through rebuilding, and that in many cases they would be eligible for federal slum clearance and redevelopment aid. He said that thirteen communities had already indicated the desire for assistance in such planning.

Special Districts Numerous in Maine

A study of special district legislation in Maine during 1955 and the ten preceding years, by Roland Dubay, manager of Orrington, Maine, indicates that special districts are easily created in that state and are becoming more numerous and diversified. In the 1945-55 period 268 laws concerning special districts were passed. They dealt with the following types of districts: school, 149; utilities (sewer, water, light, etc.), 90; bridge, five; parking, five; port, four; hospital, two; and one each for forestry, development, municipal buildings and cemetery.

At the 1955 session 44 bills concerning districts were introduced and all but one were adopted. Twenty were enacted

as "emergency" legislation, to become effective immediately. More than half (24) created new districts; the others made changes in existing districts. Out of the total, nineteen dealt with utility districts and only seven with schools.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

On September 15 BARRE, VERMONT, (1950 population 10,922) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 728 to 206.

PREScott, ARIZONA, (1950 population 6,764) and POINTE CLAIRE, QUEBEC, (8,646) have recently adopted the council-manager plan, according to the International City Managers' Association.

At a recent referendum held in NICEVILLE, FLORIDA, (2,497) the voters adopted the council-manager plan, 89 to 34. The plan will go into effect this fall.

A petition in GLOUCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, calling for an election on the question of substituting Plan C (mayor-council) for Plan E (council-manager) has been approved by the board of registrars but has been challenged as not having enough valid signatures.

A revised charter for WEST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, which has had the town manager plan since 1935, was submitted to the old town council by a revision committee. It would strengthen the manager's position and calls for a council of seven elected at large instead of by districts as at present. Each party would nominate five candidates. The recommendations, with minor changes, have been incorporated by the new council into nine referenda for action at the November 8 election.

A committee of the OSSINING, NEW YORK, village board has been studying the manager plan, which was recommended in April by a committee of the chamber of commerce. A referendum vote on the question of adopting the plan will be held at the November election.

Ethics Code for Municipal Employees

The city of White Plains, New York, has adopted a code of ethics for its employees, patterned after the code of ethics for state officers and employees (see the REVIEW, May 1954, page 246). The city's code is a result of an investigation of a complaint concerning a city employee's business activities outside his working hours. The investigation was broadened to include a review of outside activities of all city employees.

In LODI, NEW JERSEY, over 1,000 signatures have been obtained on a petition calling for a referendum on the question of adopting the council-manager plan. The number was claimed to exceed the total required for a compulsory vote.

At an election held August 15, voters of MULBERRY, FLORIDA, defeated a proposal for adoption of the manager plan 198 to 112.

Board members of the CHILlicothe, OHIO, League of Women Voters endorsed the council-manager plan at a meeting on August 2.

The city council of SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO, voted on August 29 to submit to the voters at the November 8 regular election a charter amendment to establish the council-manager plan.

In ZANESVILLE, OHIO, the city charter committee has recommended the council-manager plan. Another group proposed a full-time mayor plan, which the city council endorsed but which Mayor Sherman Johnson vetoed. An anti-manager-plan organization has been formed with the misleading title of Citizens League for Industrial Development.

Petitions have been circulated in HAZEL PARK, MICHIGAN, calling for a special election for changing from the

council-manager plan to the mayor-council form.

In MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, the Committee for Council-manager Government is contemplating a campaign for 10,000 signatures on a petition calling for a referendum vote on the council-manager question.

In IOWA CITY, IOWA, the newly formed Nonpartisan Taxpayers League is opposing the council-manager government there as "aimed at the establishment of absolute tyranny."

In MARSHALL, MISSOURI, a petition of some 650 names calls for a special election on a return to the council-manager plan. The minimum number of signatures required for filing was reported as 144. The petition recited various shortcomings of the present government. It charged that "the wholesale firing of city employees, without cause or explanation, by the mayor-council government, as soon as it took office, was a disgrace to our city."

MISSION, TEXAS, voted 164 to 123 in August in favor of a charter amendment empowering the city commission to institute the manager plan at its discretion. It was expected that this would be done about October 1.

The city commission of LITTLEFIELD, TEXAS, has instructed the city attorney to prepare a council-manager home rule charter.

HALTOM CITY, TEXAS, a Fort Worth suburb, is expected to vote, possibly in October, on a council-manager charter drafted by a fifteen-member elected charter committee.

The International City Managers' Association reports that 26 council-manager cities won awards in the 1954 National Traffic Safety Contest in which twenty other cities, not operating under the council-manager plan, also won awards. Three council-manager cities won first place in their population groups: Cincinnati, Ohio; Oklahoma

City, Oklahoma; and Phoenix, Arizona. The remaining 23 cities, which won second or third place or honorable mention, are: Kansas City, Missouri; Oakland, California; Norfolk, Virginia; Fort Worth, Texas; Richmond, Virginia; Toledo, Ohio; Berkeley, California; Peoria, Illinois; Sacramento, California; Stockton, California; Evans-ton, Illinois; Columbia, South Carolina; Richmond, California; Springfield, Ohio; Eau Claire, Wisconsin; Middletown, Ohio; Colorado Springs, Colorado; Uni-versity City, Missouri; Ventura, California; Emporia, Kansas; Two Rivers, Wisconsin; Wilmette, Illinois; and Win-netka, Illinois.

Annexation Activities in South Carolina

During 1955 annexation has been getting more than usual attention on the part of various cities in South Carolina.

Charleston has been keenly interested in some sort of merger with the large unincorporated areas which surround the city and are served by public service districts. A preliminary study of the merger problems has been made by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of South Carolina. The survey report recommends formation of merger committees. Further developments are expected at any time.

The necessary percentage of free-holders in Eau Claire, which joins the city of Columbia, have signed a petition requesting annexation. The Columbia Planning Board has recently completed a detailed study of the problems involved. The councilmen of the two cities have been studying the merger contract that must be agreed upon before a vote is held. However, the merger movement has received a setback. In a recent city election in Eau Claire an anti-annexation mayor and council were elected. The electors in both cities must approve the merger if it is to become effective.

Preparations have been in progress for annexation elections in Aiken where the influx of federal bomb plant employees has caused a tremendous growth in the territory surrounding the city.

Considerable territory has been annexed to Mount Pleasant, which is across the Cooper River from Charleston, but this action is being contested in court.

Spartanburg also has annexed some suburbs in recent months, as well as other towns. In several cases the electors in outlying areas have voted against the proposed annexations.

ROBERT H. STOUDEMIRE
University of South Carolina

Paper Ballots Persist in 11 N. J. Counties

A bill providing for referenda on the use of voting machines in eleven New Jersey counties still using paper ballots was passed by the legislature but vetoed by Governor Robert B. Meyner as inadequate. The state has 21 counties altogether; the eleven covered by the bill are the less populous ones.

Governor Meyner announced that he favors compulsory installation of voting machines in all counties. He said that the bill contained no provision whatever to implement the result of a referendum, and that the counties involved were the ones where the boards of freeholders did not favor the use of voting machines.

Chicago Metropolitan Area to Be Studied

A bill to create the Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Local Governmental Services Commission has passed the Illinois legislature and has been signed by the governor. It had been introduced as a bipartisan measure by 28 members of the House of Representatives, and provides for an appropriation of \$50,000. The membership of the com-

(Continued on page 484)

County and Township . . .*Edited by Victor Jones
and William N. Cassella, Jr.*

County Charter Reform Discussed

Conference Panel Points to Importance of Unit

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is a summary of the panel discussion, "Making the County Count: Modern Charters for Counties," held at the 61st National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, July 26, 1955. It is based upon the notes of panel members JOHN C. BOLLENS, University of California at Los Angeles, and ALBERT A. KING, King County (Washington) Board of Freeholders, and of JAMES R. ELLIS, legal counsel, Municipal League of Seattle and King County.

ROBERT H. RAWSON, president of the Citizens League of Cleveland and panel chairman, opened the session by referring to the comments on the importance of the county made in the *Report of the (federal) Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*. He noted the following as evidence of the growing significance of the county as a unit of local government:

1. In many cases the county may become a logical vehicle to provide services to metropolitan areas;
2. The county is assuming more and more municipal functions;
3. The county is increasingly used by the federal government as the agency to administer federal aid programs at the local level.

In view of the increased complexity of the functions performed by the county, administrative strengthening of county government is an important need.

JOHN C. BOLLENS, University of California at Los Angeles, pointed out that county reform can materialize by counties gaining home rule and using it or by

obtaining considerable change in the existing state general or special legislative acts relating to them. California was the first state to have county home rule (1911), acquiring it through constitutional amendment. It has largely meant organizational change rather than functional increase because both charter and general law counties have broad functional authority.

Over the years there have been sporadic interest, frequent rejections and an occasional installation of a county charter containing the manager plan. Four of fourteen county manager charter elections have been favorable. The first one was adopted in San Mateo County in 1932. The others are Sacramento County (1933) and Santa Clara County (1948 and 1950; the 1948 charter declared invalid by the State Supreme Court). The most recent unsuccessful effort was Merced County in 1950.

Seven of eleven non-manager charters have been adopted. One of them (Los Angeles) resulted in considerable administrative reorganization to which was later added the position of chief administrative officer by ordinance. Each county manager charter election or serious discussion of the question has brought on considerable antagonism and major opposition. Most non-manager counties have a greater number of independently elected officials than most non-manager cities and therefore a manager proposal usually represents a more comprehensive departure from the system existing in the county.

Numerous factors have constituted stumbling blocks to county manager charter efforts:

1. Technical mistakes, growing in part out of the fact that the charter drafters are a board of laymen who may receive little or no professional assistance if the

incumbent governing board of the county is opposed to the movement;

2. Errors in strategy (charter called for specific plan of realigning supervisory districts, included health insurance plan, worded in over-generalized or technical language);

3. Inclusion of all types of reform in the charter;

4. Reformers lose interest once charter is adopted, which may result in early change in charter;

5. Rise of the chief administrative officer plan (not a single county with a CAO has subsequently converted to the manager plan).

Virginia's Experience

WELDON COOPER, of the University of Virginia, stated that Virginia has 32 cities (autonomous, independent cities much like city-counties) and 98 counties. Thirty-one cities have adopted the manager plan whereas four counties have adopted the manager or county executive plans. Virginia has legislation permitting adoption of one of several optional forms of county government by local referendum. One of these forms is the manager plan. No local charter commissions are provided for. There are sufficient constitutional and statutory grants of power to enable the counties to perform a wide range of functions (e.g., Arlington County).

The elective officers provided for in the optional forms act are the board of supervisors, prosecuting attorney, clerk of courts and sheriff (who may be separated from his police functions by the creation of a county police department).

Dr. Cooper favors the optional forms act rather than the drafting of local home rule charters because a clear-cut choice is given to the voters and no criticism of charter technicalities can be introduced to cloud the issue.

PAUL E. GEDDES, state senator from Oregon, stated that Oregon uses the tra-

ditional form of county government exclusively and that counties are merely administrative subdivisions of the state without general power to assume municipal functions. He pointed out that frequently this has resulted in the use of special acts only thinly disguised to grant needed powers to certain counties. Thus, one act provided that "counties having one lake may enter into agreements with school districts."

Senator Geddes stated that he felt Oregon needs authority to permit counties to assume municipal functions and either to adopt local charters to fit local needs or choose from a set of optional organizational forms to strengthen administration.

Status Quo in Washington

ALBERT A. KING, King County (Washington) Board of Freeholders, emphasized that Washington has had the same basic county form since 1853, consisting of many separate elective officials and a county government of limited functions. He pointed out that, over the years, functions have been assigned to special districts as particular needs arose and that thirteen different types of special districts now exist in the state.

He indicated that the existing county government in the state of Washington had the following serious weaknesses:

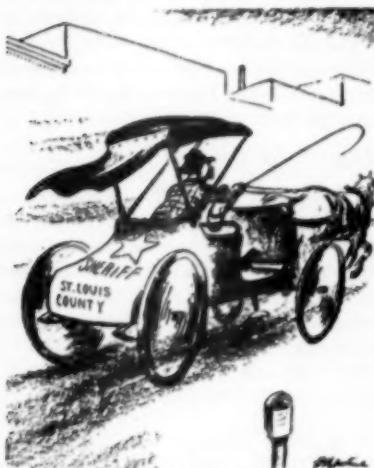
1. Too many elective officials for efficient administration,
2. Too long a ballot for effective voter control,
3. Lack of adequate budget control,
4. Partisan politics in county elections,
5. Lack of salaries for good administrative officers since top salaries go to elective officials.

Washington has adopted a home rule county charter constitutional amendment but this amendment merely provides for administrative reorganization and does not grant additional functional powers

to the county. Before counties can be fully effective in supplying the suburban area with needed services, they must secure additional powers. The King County Board of Freeholders submitted a strong manager charter in 1952, which was defeated by a two-to-one majority caused mainly by voter indifference to change and a reasonably competent group of local county officials.

JAMES A. SINGER, member of the St. Louis County Council, stated that St. Louis County has a vast array of separate local government units including 96 municipalities and that the county government has far too many elective officials. St. Louis County is proceeding on a piecemeal basis to attempt to correct this problem by taking such steps as it thinks possible of accomplishment. The 1950 home rule charter was a compromise. In 1954 a charter amendment was adopted establishing a county police force and reducing the sheriff to the position of keeper of the jail and process server.

A number of municipal functions are performed by the county under contract with certain of the municipalities.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 16, 1954

This cartoon was used in the campaign to amend the St. Louis County charter.

The incorporation of small communities has become a serious problem and consideration is being given to the establishment of barriers to such multiple incorporations.

California Counties

E. R. STALLINGS, manager of San Mateo County (California), pointed out that it was important for counties adopting manager charters to stand behind them until they had a sufficient opportunity for trial. In San Mateo County, after the original adoption of the manager plan, a former elective public official, disgruntled when he was not hired as manager, ran a campaign for an amendment to the charter providing for an elective manager. When this amendment carried, he ran for the job, was elected, and served for twelve years. The county finally readopted the manager provisions and has retained the appointed manager since that time.

Mr. Stallings noted that California counties may perform almost all municipal functions if they choose to do so and that in many situations counties are performing municipal functions for cities and districts on a contractual basis. One California city contracts for all of its services from the county.

The panel was asked how best to accomplish administrative changes such as a manager charter when the existing government is one of honest and competent officials. Mr. Singer stated that the reformer should not try for too much at once. Mr. King countered by arguing that one should keep trying for the best charter and continue a process of education until it can be adopted. Dr. Cooper pointed out that although progress was very slow in the adoption of the manager plan in counties, half-way steps were seldom if ever later improved by amendments. Dr. Bollens stated that some minor compromises might be necessary, but that major concessions should be

avoided since they are unlikely to be improved by later amendment.

HERMAN KEHRLI, University of Oregon, asked whether it might not be easier in many instances to place all powers in county boards of commissioners instead of establishing a manager in the charter or optional forms act. He argued that the county board would inevitably establish some form of manager and that the main need in county government reform was the elimination of a multitude of elective officials and this could be accomplished by a charter which eliminated said officers and placed all powers in an elective county board of commissioners. Several of the panel members concurred in the wisdom of this suggestion under certain conditions.

RICHARD S. CHILDS, called upon from the audience, stated that in his judgment the rural counties had grown used to their existing structure and were reluctant to change under any circumstances. He stated that he was not so concerned that change occur in such counties since reasonable services could be performed even under their inefficient administrative structure. In the urban counties, however, Mr. Childs felt it was imperative that administrative reorganization occur as such counties assume more and more municipal functions. In some, the assumption of new functions by the county will be an impetus to changes since these will be necessary in order to perform properly the new functions. He suggested that function-by-function transfers to urban counties should be encouraged.

MRS. MARGARET BARD asked whether nonpartisan elections were necessary at the county level. Mr. Stallings answered

that in his opinion partisan elections had no place in local government. Mr. Singer disagreed, asserting that party responsibility was improved by partisan elections and that greater voter turnout was encouraged. Mr. Childs interposed that control of local government should be in the courthouse rather than in the home of the political boss. The discussion was adjourned by Mr. Rawson at noon.

Census Bureau Publishes New Data on Counties

The Bureau of the Census reports that about one-seventh of American workers are employed in a different county from the one in which they live. *Current Population Reports* for August 17, 1955, carried the first national figures on this subject ever published.

Milwaukee County Conducts 219 Activities

The Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee, in its *Bulletin* of August 25, compiled a list of the 219 activities of Milwaukee County, showing the year—1835 to 1955—each activity was assigned to the county government.

Mississippi County Structure Described

The governmental structure of Mississippi counties is described in the July 1955 number of *Public Administration Survey*, published by the School of Commerce and Public Administration at the University of Mississippi.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

State Tax Collections Reach New High

Legislatures This Year Raise Rates for 1956

STATE tax collections in fiscal 1955 gained almost as much in dollars as they had in 1954, to reach \$11,600,000,000, an all-time high.¹ At the same time, legislatures in 1955 enacted the heaviest volume of tax law since the end of the war to make it evident that barring a substantial business recession collections in 1956 will continue their upward trend.

The 1955 increase in state tax collections of about \$500,000,000 approximated the 1954 increase, but represented a gain of 4.5 per cent compared with 1954's 5.1 per cent increase. Among the major revenue-producing items, above average increases were shown by individual income taxes, up 7.9 per cent compared with 3.7 per cent for 1954; motor fuel taxes, up 6.1 compared with 9.9 per cent; and motor vehicle and operators licenses, up 6.1 per cent compared with a 5.7 per cent decline for the prior year. General sales and gross receipts taxes were up a less-than-average 3.8 per cent, compared with 4.4 per cent for the preceding period, while corporate income taxes, which had declined 4.8 per cent for 1954, showed a further reduction of 4.5 per cent for 1955. Taxes on alcoholic beverages, after slipping 6/10 of 1 per cent for 1954, increased 1.9 per cent for 1955, but taxes on tobacco products were down by 1.1 per cent, the same decline as shown for the prior period.

Of the approximately \$11,600,000,000 collected in 1955, sales and gross receipts

taxes accounted for 59.3 per cent, license taxes for 15.7 per cent, income taxes for 15.7 per cent, property taxes for 3.6 per cent, and death and gift taxes, severance taxes and miscellaneous excises for the remaining 5.8 per cent. Among the individual tax and license charges, general sales and gross receipts taxes led with 22.8 per cent of total tax collections, followed by motor fuel taxes with 20.3 per cent, motor vehicle and operators licenses with 10.2 per cent, individual income taxes with 9.4 per cent, and corporation net income taxes with 6.4 per cent.

These figures, which include some preliminary data as compiled by the Government's Division of the Bureau of the Census, cover state fiscal years ending in 1955, mainly on June 30, except for two states included whose fiscal periods ended in the later months of 1954. Among the individual states, total tax collections for the period ranged from a high of \$1,334,000,000 for California to a low of \$20,000,000 in Nevada. The highest states after California were New York, \$1,200,000,000; Michigan, \$646,000,000; Pennsylvania, \$629,000,000; Ohio, \$584,000,000; Illinois, \$552,000,000; and Texas, \$489,000,000.

Per Capita Collections

In total, state tax collections amounted to \$72.25 per capita for all 48 states. Individually, the highest per capita collections, \$115.54, were shown by the state of Washington, the lowest, \$45.35, by New Jersey. Of the states with the highest dollar collections, only California and Michigan ranked among the highest in per capita collections. Highest per capita figures, after Washington, were: Delaware, \$111.23; California, \$106.29; Louisiana, \$103.80; New Mexico, \$102.70; Wyoming, \$98.56; Nevada, \$93.56; Oklahoma, \$92.78; and Michigan, \$91.95. New York's per capita collections were \$77.77,

¹*State Tax Collections in 1955.* U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, Bulletin G-SF55 — No. 4. Washington, D. C. August 26, 1955.

Pennsylvania's \$58.35, Ohio's \$68.29, Illinois' \$60.21, and Texas' \$57.75.

Evidently tax collections will rise further in most states next year, barring reversals in private and business income that might reduce the tax base. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, two-thirds of the 46 state legislatures meeting in 1955 have imposed higher taxes on individuals or businesses, the new tax law being in heaviest volume since the end of World War II. Income tax rates were increased by eleven states, gasoline taxes by fifteen states, cigarette taxes by ten states, sales taxes by six states, alcoholic beverage taxes by five states, and beer and wine taxes by seven and four states respectively. Additionally, Missouri and Oregon both enacted new cigarette taxes (subject, however, to referendum approval), Utah imposed a new oil and gas conservation tax, Kansas and New Mexico replaced mileage taxes with systems of graduated motor vehicle registration fees based on the weight of vehicles, Idaho reimposed a mileage tax repealed in 1953, and Nevada became the 33rd state to impose a general sales and use tax.

Legislatures Raise Rates

The increases in income tax rates reversed a general pattern of downward adjustments evident in the immediate post-war years. Five states increased rates for both individual and corporate income, three raised personal income tax rates only, and three increased rates for corporations only. Some of the adjustments took the form of reducing, or eliminating, tax credits formerly allowed to reduce the effective rates.

The new Nevada sales and use tax became effective July 1, 1955, and will be imposed at a rate of 2 per cent. Among the states raising rates on pre-existing sales taxes, South Dakota upped the rate from 2 to 3 per cent as part of a program to finance bonus payments to Korean war veterans.

The general pattern of diffusion in administration of major state taxes registered but little improvement during the year, despite the large number of adjustments made in tax laws respecting rates. According to the biennial study of tax administration made by the Federation of Tax Administrators, only ten states administered such major taxes through a single agency in mid-1955, while nine divided the work of collection and administration among four agencies, one state had five agencies doing such work, and the remaining 28 states had two or three agencies each.

Administrative changes made in 1955 included a major reorganization in South Dakota, which established a new department of revenue to handle licensing and tax division functions formerly separately administered. North Dakota shifted administration of the beer tax to the state treasurer, already responsible for liquor tax administration, while Oregon created a new department of motor vehicles to replace former administration of gasoline tax and motor vehicle licensing and registration functions handled by the secretary of state. Minnesota changed the title of its Tax Division to Department of Revenue but did not shift the assignment of functions. All these changes were effective July 1, 1955.

Local Sales Taxes Receive New Impetus

Sales and use taxes at the local level received new impetus in several areas during the year as a result of permissive legislation. According to the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, at least three states authorized local units to impose gross receipts taxes during the year.

In California, where cities have been making extensive use of local sales taxes for some years, 1955 legislation authorized the imposition of sales and use taxes by the counties. Authorization is required by

the county board of supervisors, which must contract to have the California State Board of Equalization perform all functions incident to the administration of the county tax. Such tax, which may not exceed 1 per cent of sales, will be collected by the state with the state sales tax, with the state returning collections to the county less an amount to reimburse the state for the collection expense.

Provision is made for retailers subject to both a city and a county sales tax to obtain credit for the city tax, provided the city has also contracted with the state board to have the state administer the city sales tax. Enactment of the law with provisions for state collection and administration brings to fruition several years' efforts on the part of state and local officials to provide arrangements under which local sales taxes would be collected, subject to local option, with the state tax.

A somewhat similar local sales tax device was enacted in Illinois, where municipalities were authorized to impose sales taxes of not exceeding one-half of 1 per cent, to be administered by the Illinois State Department of Revenue. The department is to receive 6 per cent of collections for administrative and collection expense. The tax may be adopted without local referendum and is reported to have been adopted, effective mainly as of August 1, 1955, by at least 140 municipalities, including the city of Chicago and eight other Cook County units. According to the law, municipal cigarette taxes may not be levied while the sales tax is in effect. Previously, cities had permission to impose sales taxes in Illinois, but only subject to voter approval.

General sales taxes were also made permissive in New Mexico, which authorized cities of 75,000 population or over to levy at a rate of not exceeding 1 per cent. As in California and Illinois under the 1955 legislation, the New Mexico local tax is to be administered by the state, which will be allowed 5 per cent of collections for expenses. Albuquerque, the only city

in the state meeting the population requirement, acted to impose the tax. Its rate will be 1 per cent for most sales, but on motor vehicles the rate will be one-half of 1 per cent of gross sales less trade-in allowances. Most farm produce will be exempt.

Eight other states have legislation permitting at least some cities within their borders to impose sales and use taxes. They are Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York and West Virginia. Only in Mississippi among these states is the collection and administration handled by the state, however.

Perhaps the most unusual use of local sales taxes occurs in New York, where Erie and Monroe Counties levy sales and use taxes whose proceeds are shared with the local government units. In Erie County the shared proceeds go for school aid purposes and may be credited against the local school district ad valorem levies. In Monroe County the cities, villages and towns share in the receipts, with the local shares distributed partly on a per capita basis and partly on the basis of equalized valuation. Buffalo (Erie County) and Rochester (Monroe County) share in the county levies.

Maryland Reviews Assessment Revision Program Begun in 1953

A study of progress under Maryland's program to revise local property assessments began in September, under supervision of the State Tax Commission. Inspections will be made in each of the state's 23 counties by the same group of officials which in 1953 surveyed assessment practices and found widely divergent results.

Maryland law, like that in many other states, provides that property shall be assessed for ad valorem taxation at its full cash value. In 1953 the study concluded that property generally was valued much below full cash value, the

range for individual counties being from a low of 25 per cent (Calvert County) to a high of 60 per cent (city of Baltimore). Since Maryland still uses a general state property tax, the findings stirred up considerable discussion, both in the areas with high assessment ratios and in those with low ratios.

As a result of the 1953 study, the state law was revised to provide for a reassessment program designed to bring property valuations into line on an equalized basis. It provided, however, that each assessing jurisdiction was to be divided into three areas, with property in each area to be completely revalued each third year. In 1955 the legislature revised the program to require that all real estate be reassessed each year, thereby eliminating the discrepancies likely to result with only one-third of the property assessed annually.

Tax Institute Symposium on School Financing Scheduled

A symposium on financing education has been set for November 3 and 4 by the Tax Institute, Incorporated. It will be held in Princeton, New Jersey, headquarters of the institute.

Chairman of the program committee is Dr. John F. Sly, a vice president of the institute, who is director of The Princeton Surveys and a commissioner of the Port of New York Authority. Other program committee members include James E. Allen, Jr., commissioner of education of the State of New York; Kenneth Perry, vice president and special counsel of Johnson & Johnson; and James A. Arnold, Jr., and William Miller, of Princeton Surveys. President of the institute is Alan L. Gornick, director of tax affairs for the Ford Motor Company, and the executive director is Dr. Mabel L. Walker.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 476)

mission is specified to include five senators, five representatives, five appointees of the governor and six others to represent local governments in the area.

The Chicago Civic Federation reports that no over-all study of government in the Chicago metropolitan area has been made for two decades; that despite many common interests no common means has existed for reaching solutions for problems affecting the entire area; and that until the new commission was established there was no facility for a comprehensive inquiry into its complex governmental structure.

AMA to Meet in Miami

The 32nd annual American Municipal Congress of the American Municipal Association will be held in Miami, Florida, November 27-30. Important matters affecting various phases of municipal operations will be taken up, and social and entertainment events will be provided.

Alaska League to Hold 5th Meeting

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the League of Alaskan Cities will be held in Palmer on October 31 and November 1 and 2. A battery of distinguished speakers will be featured, including Governor B. Frank Heintzleman, Congressional Delegate E. L. Bartlett, top representatives of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and men in charge of Alaska highways and public works. A tentative legislative program will also be formulated.

VICTOR FISCHER
League of Alaskan Cities

Proportional Representation . . .*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cumulative Voting Reviewed¹

Use in Corporations Discussed, Appraised

IN THE field of business there is a large body of opinion in favor of the proposition that minority factions among the stockholders of an enterprise should not be entitled to any representation on the company's board of directors; that the provision for such representation other than by negotiation with the management impairs the effectiveness of the board of directors, besides harassing the management; and that the chief effect of devices for securing minority representation on boards of directors is to give an extra leverage to the kind of speculator group that buys into a company for the purpose of displacing the management or forcing the management to take steps likely to produce short term increases in the value of the stock, such as distribution of surplus, liquidation, merger with other companies, a change in dividend policy or a deferral of maintenance expenses.

By contrast, in the field of public affairs there is no respectable body of opinion claiming that substantial minorities ought not to be represented *at all* in city councils, or state or national legislatures. The only question is the extent and basis of minority representation. The existence of organized political parties and shifts in preponderance between them from time to time have brought public opinion to that point in the consideration of public affairs.

¹This article is a review of *Cumulative Voting for Directors*, by Charles M. Williams. Boston, Harvard University, Graduate School of Business, Division of Research. ix, 194 pp. 1951. \$3.00.

The book *Cumulative Voting for Directors*, by Professor Charles M. Williams, although it treats the business scene without comparison to political institutions, provides some interesting material for such a comparison. The difference between political contests and intracorporation proxy fights does not lie in the character of the electorate or the type of leadership competing for support. If there is such a difference, it is that in a major political contest voters are better informed and more on their guard against deception while the candidates are better known (and perhaps more forthright in their statements) than their counterparts in a major contest for the control of a company whose stock is held by widely scattered stockholders.

There are other great differences, of course: (a) substantive ones, such as the possibility of substantial groups buying in or selling out in response to market forces, and (b) procedural differences, such as the fact that most of the votes in business contests are voted by proxy with the faction leader thus knowing, in advance of the election, the magnitude of his following. The frequently lengthy process of qualifying proxies may also serve to give advance notice of the existence and approximate strength of an opposition group.

Perhaps the characteristics just mentioned of the mechanics of stockholder voting explain the fact that, although cumulative voting for corporation directors, first authorized (and required) in 1870 in Illinois, has become required in 21 states and authorized in 17 others, this experience has not led to adoption of a more refined method of proportional representation such as would not require for its effective use any advance knowledge of the strength of the contending

factions. Under the system of cumulative voting a stockholder has, for each share, as many votes as there are directors to be elected, but he may cast all of these for one candidate or distribute them among candidates as he may see fit.

Professor Williams points out that the disproportionate effects which can result from failure to use cumulative voting privileges, or from failure to appreciate that an opposing group plans to use these privileges, has been countered only by a requirement in many states that cumulative voting may be availed of only after some stockholder has filed a notice a day or so before the election indicating intention to utilize this privilege. Under the special conditions of corporate elections this notice provision may well be sufficient to prevent disproportional representation through careless use of the voting system, but for other purposes a more developed election system is necessary to assure reasonably proportional representation.

Experience with System

Professor Williams develops an account of experience with cumulative voting by the device of narrating a varied group of case histories with the names of the companies and persons disguised. Although the reader must take on faith the proposition that these accounts are drawn from actual experience, the illustrations at least serve to give a plausible perspective of the range of situations likely to come up. They raise, even if they could not settle, the various contentions usually heard on the subject of cumulative voting and they bring out some points not frequently mentioned.

Professor Williams' conclusions, as stated in the last paragraph of his study, are positive:

That capable and far-seeing managements have little to fear from cumulative voting is strongly argued by the support for cumulative voting which the author

found among business and legal leaders in states where it is mandatory. On balance it seems to the author that high caliber managements should be willing to chance the slight possibilities that they will be affected adversely by cumulative voting in order to afford stockholders a degree of added strength in protecting their interests against neglect at the hands of less beneficent and responsible managements in the future.

W.R.W.

Lowell to Hold P. R. Referendum

Lowell, Massachusetts, will vote November 8 on continuing the use of proportional representation for the election of its city council and school committee. Lowell adopted the state's optional Plan E charter in 1942. It provided the council-manager plan of government with P.R.

No P. R. Referendum in Worcester

Since the deadline for filing petitions to place referenda on the November ballot has now passed, the threat in Worcester, Massachusetts, to submit a repeal of proportional representation to referendum has not materialized. The city uses P.R. for the election of its city council and school committee. Speaking editorially, the Worcester *Telegram* of September 2 comments:

"What method would we choose to replace P.R.? How could we be sure that any alternative system would be equally fair and representative? . . . It is easy to say that some system other than P.R. can treat all parties and citizens fairly — but it is hard to point to such a system or to devise one. P.R. calls for voting in a nonpartisan way. It encourages nonpartisanship. But it also protects all sizable groups of voters. It guarantees representation along lines which the voters themselves want. It guards majorities and minorities alike. That is its strength."

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Preparing for Politics

Ohio Wesleyan's Program 'Outstanding Achievement'

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below was prepared by WILLIAM H. ELLS, of the Department of Political Science, Ohio Wesleyan University. In politics since he was thirteen years old, Professor Eells has been with the university's Institute of Practical Politics, which he describes, since its inception. He is associated with the Boys' State in Ohio of the American Legion, a member of the YMCA's National Committee on Youth Program, and state chairman for Ohio of the Effective Citizenship Organization, as well as author of *Your Ohio Government* and other publications in his field.

"WE HAVE visited no college where the intensity of general student interest in politics or the number of students actually taking a real part in it equals what we found at Ohio Wesleyan University." This statement is quoted from a published report by Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed to the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University.¹ That was in 1952. Now, in 1955, Ohio Wesleyan's campus program has been cited again and presented with an award by Freedoms Foundation for "outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life."

These citations have made the challenge even greater for those on the campus of Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio. As a school endowed with rich opportunities for molding the lives of our future leaders, it hopes to return to the many communities of this nation from which its students come a

corps of public-spirited men and women who, in addition to their various vocations, will be ready to take their place as participating citizens.

It was on this premise in 1947 that the university established The Institute of Practical Politics under the able direction of Dr. Ben A. Arneson, at that time chairman of the Department of Political Science, with the support of the faculty and new president, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, now on leave as director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. This was a lifetime dream of Dr. Arneson, who for years had been encouraging students to go into the active political life of their communities.

It was a pioneer movement which set in motion a good many similar programs at other universities. Dr. Arneson realized that a sound curriculum and the existing discussion clubs were not enough. Students needed to have their attention focused on their obligations as citizens, and to have habits cultivated that would later impel them to become active citizens politically. It was a notable experiment, according to the *Kiplinger Magazine*.

"Dr. Arneson," said *Kiplinger*, "first utilized the interne method by urging students into summer work for political parties of their choice. He let them learn public service by working in public offices. Some students got paid jobs; others were volunteers. For their work they received college credits. They also got, of course, a lot of practical knowledge."

This activity of the institute, known as citizenship field training, is enrolling more and more undergraduates. For example, during the 1954 summer months, a senior from Trenton, New Jersey, went to work for the Democratic party of that state. He headed a team of two other

¹ See *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*, New York, 1952.

companions and recruited five thousand new registered voters for the party. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, an attractive coed, in her junior year, organized and carried out a door-to-door campaign on behalf of her father who was running for the school board, while in Columbus, Ohio, a sophomore served as an interne at Republican state headquarters under the direction of the state chairman.

The field course is open to any student on campus who has had the basic course in American government. It is carefully supervised by the instructor in charge who is not only continually in contact with the student but also keeps in touch with the student's immediate superior on the job.

Aim of Activities

Citizenship field training is just one of the several year-round activities of the institute. A number of other activities have been developed which have continually helped to bring about a climate on the campus favorable to politics and the politician. These activities have centered around three basic aims: first, to stimulate a number of our students to make a career of government service especially in administrative positions; second, to encourage a much larger number to participate actively in practical politics and in some cases to seek political offices; third, to give all students an appreciation of organized political action in a democracy, an understanding of the more elementary political processes, and a realization of the complexities and the difficulties which are inherent in any system in which the people rule.

Such activities now in operation to carry out these aims include a civic volunteer program. The undergraduate is not the only one interested in political participation—the Ohio Wesleyan alumni are active too. Over 1,100 alumni have become civic volunteers by signing a pledge that upon graduation, regardless

of their vocation, they will devote a portion of their time to active participation in public affairs. With the beginning of this program, by Dr. Arneson some twenty years ago, may be dated the real birth of the institute. This year found one young alumnus elected to Congress, another running for a seat on his local commission, a woman graduate campaigning for a post on her city council, and another seeking the post of city solicitor in his community. All are civic volunteers who, unlike some, are not content to just talk about issues alone but realize the importance of getting in and participating. Every member of each senior class is invited to join in this crusade for better government and is furnished with an attractive booklet which describes five immediate things he or she can do to help politics and thus their system of government.

Each year the institute sponsors two projects which attract nationwide attention, Republican Day and Democratic Day. These two days are held one week apart at which time party leaders from the state and local levels are invited to come to the campus and join with the students in a mutual exchange of ideas and information relative to the role of the American political party. A prominent national political personality sets the tone for the day with a headline speech before the entire student body. This is followed by group discussions, panels or other individual speakers. In campaign years both days result in the recruiting of students to work with the party of their choice in the primaries and fall election campaigns. These events have helped to bridge the gap between the college campus and the political party, and have added the public official and party worker to the "faculty-at-large." A better understanding now exists, and students are finding new opportunities with parties, especially in Ohio.

The institute sponsors special study projects and conferences on related subjects. A recent survey of voting behavior in the city of Delaware, Ohio, compared with an identical survey made by students 24 years ago, is one such study. Students pushed doorbells and gathered information. Among the interesting results were these: that those in their 50s and 60s had the best voting record and that those in their 20s and 30s had the poorest record. Improvement in voting was noted among women, people past 70, college teachers and people living in the more well-to-do neighborhoods. Decreases in voting were discovered among voters in the 20s, those with some high school education and members of organized labor groups.

Political Clubs

The students maintain their own active Democratic Club and Young Republican Club with assistance from the institute in bringing to the campus political speakers for club meetings and assemblies. In the presidential years a mock national political convention is held with all students in political science getting a chance to participate.

To help in planning the future course of the institute a continual evaluation of the work is conducted by the university's evaluation center. This service is financed by funds from part of a three-year grant made to the university for the work of the institute by the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh. Two scales have been developed especially for this program: one an "attitudes scale" and, the other, a "participation scale." Both scales are given to incoming freshmen, and again at the end of the sophomore and senior years. Interesting trends have been recorded over the past two years, the period during which the new scales have been used, between those students who had participated and those who had not, and between

upper-classmen and freshmen and sophomores.

The program at Ohio Wesleyan now bears the name of its founder, who retired last year, The Ben A. Arneson Institute of Practical Politics. Although there are other programs similar to it in the United States, the institute at Ohio Wesleyan is a pioneer. Its future success in part depends on its continued support from alumni, administration, friends and from the enthusiastic response of the students. It also depends on an awareness that voting is not enough but that an understanding of the practical aspects of our political system and a knowledge of how to participate by an enlightened citizen will assure the Ohio Wesleyan graduate and all his fellow Americans of a sound government that will continue better to provide and protect his or her right to be a doctor, a merchant, a homemaker, to have a family and belong to a church.

Schools of higher learning can never ignore this responsibility to society. It is an obligation much discussed but too often misplaced—an obligation Ohio Wesleyan University has done something about.

WILLIAM H. ELLIS,
Executive Officer

Institute of Practical Politics
Ohio Wesleyan University

NACS Elects Crosser President

C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, was elected president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries at the annual meeting held July 26 in conjunction with the 61st National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in Seattle. First, second, third, fourth vice presidents elected were S. R. Jeffers, manager of research department, Mississippi Economic Coun-

cil; Carl B. Short, Jr., executive director, Citizens' Association of Kansas City, Missouri; William H. O'Brien, assistant director, Detroit Citizens League; George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary, Citizens Union of New York City. The undersigned will serve as secretary. Granville N. Moore, vice president and general manager of the Greater Dallas Planning Council, was elected treasurer.

Participants in the panel discussion on "How to Run a Civic League" included Messrs. Crosser, Gill, Short, Donald Becker, staff member, and Albert F. Hull, former membership secretary, of the Seattle Municipal League. Mr. Hull recalled his successful experience in increasing membership from 240 to over 5,200 and how it was accomplished. Mr. Becker explained the publicity techniques which have made the *Seattle Municipal News* outstanding. Mr. Short discussed the methods used by the Kansas City Citizens' Association in electing their candidates' slates, Mr. Crosser outlined the activities of the Seattle League's sixteen committees of 700 members devoting many hours of volunteer service to civic problems.

Comments were made by participants from Dallas, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Spokane, New York, Chicago and Port Huron, Michigan.

Resolutions of appreciation were adopted thanking Mr. Crosser and his staff for the excellent local arrangements, and commending immediate past president Raymond D. Black, executive director, Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, and the other officers, for their services to NACS.

It was suggested that the NACS hold two meetings a year, one with the National Municipal League and the other with the Governmental Research Association.

NORMAN N. GILL,
Director

Citizens' Governmental Research
Bureau of Milwaukee

Fall Action Planned

At its July meeting, the board of directors of the Citizens Committee of Greater Indianapolis, recently formed civic group, laid plans for fall activity. One important action was appointment of a committee to handle the organization's program in the home rule field, a question receiving much attention in Indiana. It was the judgment of the board that a conference might be arranged this fall to which all groups and individuals interested in the home rule question would be invited to lay plans for action.

Plans were also laid for a projected "ten-point" poll of candidates running in the fall election for the city council. The board approved the poll. A six-man committee was appointed to prepare suitable questions to present to the candidates for their answers. Mr. Walter Leckrone, editor of the *Indianapolis Times*, has agreed to publish the results of the poll.

Two civic groups in Massachusetts will take active part in the election of candidates to city councils and school committees under their council-manager plan charters. In Worcester, the candidates study committee of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association met every two weeks during the summer to discuss candidates filing for election under the proportional representation system used in that city. Candidates for both the city council and school committee have been given personal interviews and asked to fill out questionnaires. Following the pattern of former committees, some individuals have been recruited to run for office. Members of the organization are asked to suggest names for endorsement.

In Medford, Massachusetts, the Plan E Civic Association circulated stickers "Vote Plan E Endorsed Candidates," which they requested members to place on their cars. The association is preparing to lend its endorsement to certain candidates for the city council and school committee.

Universities Study State Problems

Budgets, Legislatures, Reapportionment Covered

SEVERAL university governmental research bureaus have recently published studies on state government administrative problems. These cover a multitude of subjects including state legislatures, state control over local governments and state fiscal administration.

The perennial problem of legislative reapportionment is discussed in a recent study, *Legislative Reapportionment in Alabama*, by James E. Larson, published by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. With the adoption of a constitutional amendment in Illinois in 1954,¹ Alabama now has the dubious distinction of having gone the longest period (54 years) without legislative reapportionment. Professor Larson discusses the problems involved in securing reapportionment and presents some possible solutions that could be accomplished by either legislative action or constitutional amendment. The study includes charts which vividly illustrate the results of unfair representation because of failure to reapportion.

The Georgia legislature has been added to the growing list of legislatures subject to recent investigation, thereby implementing one of the objectives of the 1954 report of the American Political Science Association's Committee on American Legislatures (i.e. "to encourage the study of the state legislative processes.") The study, entitled *The Legislative Pro-*

cess in Georgia, was prepared by Henry C. Pepper and published by the School of Business Administration at the University of Georgia. The author discusses the organization and functioning of the legislature and makes recommendations on procedural changes and committee reorganization. He points out that the relatively large volume of bills introduced in the legislature is due to the considerable numbers of local bills, which have totaled well over half of all acts passed by recent sessions.

With the recent interest in intergovernmental relations, the University of Kansas Governmental Research Bureau has issued a timely report, *State Administrative Supervision of Local Government Functions in Kansas*, by Clarence J. Heim. This study, another in the Kansas administrative series, describes some of the practices and procedures used in the administrative supervision exercised by various state agencies over counties and cities. It has been prepared as a contribution to the understanding of the processes of decentralization and centralization that have been going on at the state and local levels. In the study's concluding section, the author raises the question of the desirability of creating a Department of Local Government within the state framework. Without making a recommendation, the author states that such an agency would probably lead to more state-local cooperation in carrying out joint projects. On the other hand, such an agency might take the supervisory responsibility from that state agency specializing in a particular function, thereby reducing the effectiveness of the state supervision.

In the area of fiscal matters, the West Virginia University Bureau for Government Research published *Program Budgeting—a Method for Improving Fiscal*

¹ See "Illinois Faces Redistricting," by Russell E. Olson, the REVIEW, July 1954, page 343; also the REVIEW, December 1954, page 586.

Management, by Eugene R. Elkins. This study, which follows the author's *State Fiscal Organization in West Virginia*, points out that the trend in West Virginia has been to more itemization and line-item budgeting in the period since creation of the office of the director of budget in 1935. The author states that program budgeting marks a stage in budget growth at which the budget process becomes more positive, thereby removing the emphasis on restraint or the negative side of fiscal control. The performance budget is a way of visualizing the budget system as an instrument for integrating and coordinating the major processes of administration.

One other study is *Kentucky Government*, by J. E. Reeves, a revision of an earlier work published by the Bureau of Government Research at the University of Kentucky. The 90-page pamphlet, which describes in detail the various aspects of Kentucky government, has been prepared for use in classrooms. The study contains several maps, tables and an administrative organization chart of the state government.

Metropolitan Toronto Studies Police and Fire Unification

Researchers concerned with the metropolitan area problem have been watching developments in Toronto with considerable interest. A metropolitan council was created in 1954 to take over certain of the functions of the thirteen municipalities in the greater Toronto metropolitan area.¹ Specifically excluded from the functions assigned to the council, among others, were fire and police services, but now there is interest in unifying these services under the council's control. The Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research has prepared a well documented twenty-

¹ See "Metropolitan Area Merges," by Eric Hardy, the REVIEW, July 1953, page 326.

page statement for submission to the metropolitan council advocating unification of these services. The bureau states that unification would be more expensive but the improved services would more than offset the additional cost. Also unification would correct the problems of divided jurisdictions and would eliminate the duplication of services.

South Dakota Care for the Needy

A recent study, published by the University of South Dakota Governmental Research Bureau, inventories that state's facilities for *Hospital and Medical Care for the Needy*. The report, by William H. Cape, has been prepared to provide factual information to assist in understanding the state's medical care problem. The proper role the county should play in this area is given considerable attention.

GRA Holds Annual Conference

At the annual conference of the Governmental Research Association, held September 12 to 14 at Atlantic City, the principal address was delivered by Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey, who spoke on the problem of reorganizing the executive branch of New Jersey government to conform with the directives of the 1947 constitution.

During the three-day session, round tables were held on a variety of topics, including executive control of personnel, mental health problems, higher education, balancing resources and demands in central cities and fringe areas, policing the fringe area, urban off-street parking, relating financial and physical planning, and evaluating self-financing projects.

Leslie J. Reese was elected president of the association. Other officers are Richard A. Ware, vice president; John M. Leavens, treasurer; and Richard A. At-

kins, John H. Mahoney, James W. McGrew, Val C. Mogensen and Estal E. Sparlin, trustees.

Philip H. Cornick, awards committee chairman, presented the award for the most distinguished research in the past year to Alvin A. Burger and Aris A. Mallas of the Texas Research League for that group's study of Texas state hospitals and special schools. In addition, a runner-up award was presented in this category. Rosalind G. Baldwin accepted the award on behalf of the Government Affairs Foundation for the work of that organization on the use of federal block grants to states for welfare purposes. John V. Barnett, on behalf of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, received the award for the best presentation of a research report for the chamber's review of legislation before the 1955 General Assembly.

One hundred and seventy members of the association attended the conference and with their guests those in attendance totaled over 200.

J.K.

Fellowships in Comparative Public Administration

Two fellowships, under the Fulbright program, for candidates interested in comparative public administration for the academic year 1956-57 have been announced. Both will allow the successful candidates to serve overseas in the headquarters of an international organization. The first is with the International Union of Local Authorities at The Hague, Netherlands, and the second with the International Institute of Administrative Services at Brussels, Belgium. Normal

Nova Scotia Municipal Research Bureau Created

The Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, has established a Bureau of Municipal Research as a research and information service agency for local governments. The policy for the bureau is established by a council composed of representatives from five local government organizations but research is conducted independently by the university.

conditions of Fulbright predoctoral candidacy apply. Candidates must be under 35 but do not have to be in academic residence. Applications, which must be filed by October 31, 1955, can be obtained from the Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21. Further information may be obtained by writing Charles S. Ascher, associate director, Public Administration Clearing House, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21.

Strictly Personal

Edward Jones, executive director of the Springfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers' Association, has been appointed executive secretary of the newly established Hampden Council. The council is to administer the policies of Future Springfield, Inc., Springfield Area Development Corporation, Metropolitan Planning Council, as well as the Taxpayers' Association. Mr. Jones will serve as executive officer of each group.

Books in Review

THE MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK 1955. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and David S. Arnold. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1955. x, 588 pp. \$10.

For a number of years, the *Municipal Year Book* has stated that its chief purpose is "to provide municipal officials with information on the current problems of cities throughout the country, with facts and statistics on individual city activities, and with analyses of trends by population groups." This purpose is admirably served in the 1955 edition, which not only brings the usual sections on municipal structure, personnel, finances, administration, functions and officials up to date but also presents considerable new material, both to enlarge on old subjects and to introduce others for the first time. The opening article on "Municipal Highlights of 1954," by Edward W. Weidner, sets a comprehensive and perceptive tone which carries through the entire volume. For civic leaders, researchers and students of municipal government, as well as for officials, the *Year Book* is of prime importance as a reference work.

This year's edition continues the post-war trend toward a broader concept of city government. Metropolitan areas again come in for substantial attention, including a useful general article by John C. Bollens and a presentation and analysis of urban county statistics by Victor Jones. Increasing interest in urban growth is also indicated by fuller data on city planning, with new details on zoning, minimum lot size, and other land-use factors supplementing information on the organization of the planning agencies.

The widening attention to municipal government areally is matched on the functional and fiscal sides. The interesting article by Orin F. Nolting on the "Cultural Activities of Cities"—dealing with the municipal role in such things as museums, music and the theatre—is one ex-

ample. Another is Robert L. Funk's compendium of data on the use of non-property taxes by city governments. These articles indicate that the *Year Book*, while retaining its valuable regular features, is at the same time keeping abreast of new developments.

In "keeping abreast" in the future, the editors may want to include fuller write-ups on several subjects dealt with only briefly or obliquely this year. Citizen co-operation in municipal government through advisory, action and other committees, now expanding rapidly in number and importance, is one such subject. Major changes in large-city administration—including developments of the mayor-administrator, municipal cabinet and departmental autonomy ideas—also seem to merit more extended treatment. Finally, it may prove useful to take a separate and specific look each year at where the municipalities stand in their intergovernmental relations—with nation, state and each other.

ROBERT J. M. MATTESON
Institute of Public Administration

POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST. The Case of Public Housing in Chicago. By Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield. Glencoe (Illinois), The Free Press, 1955. 353 pp. \$5.00.

This is an excellent study of public housing in Chicago, particularly of the decision-making process as to the location of public housing during the years 1949 and 1950. The authors point out in the preface that the case of public housing contains lessons which may be applied to other issues. Moreover, because "decisions regarding location, along with decisions regarding budget amounts, are the form in which city planning usually comes into political focus," the book gives some good insights into the politics of the second largest American city.

One section deals with the inconsistencies and contradictions frequently

present in the case for public housing. The authors feel that a large segment of the Chicago electorate did not recognize these inconsistencies and that several prominent politicians were not themselves aware of them. For example, many supporters of public housing in Chicago were bitterly opposed to any measure which would disturb the lily-white nature of their neighborhoods. No one pointed out publicly that there was a major inconsistency between the demand for more public housing and the preservation of the status quo in white sections. The authors feel that if the politicians had been more aware of this, and if the Housing Authority had been in a position to talk frankly to the "Big Boys," a settlement might have been reached with less difficulty and confusion.

The study is developed along a carefully worked out conceptual scheme whose framework is outlined in a brief supplement at the end. Edward Banfield is a professor of planning at the University of Chicago. Martin Meyerson, professor of city planning at the University of Pennsylvania, headed the planning program of the Chicago Housing Authority and was one of the participants in the events described in the book.

BRUNA NORSA

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST GOVERNMENTAL ACCOUNTING & FINANCE INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, MAY 30 AND 31, 1955. Austin, the University, Institute of Public Affairs, 1955. 146 pp.

Administrative Assistants

DIRECTORY OF ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS TO CITY MANAGERS. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1954. 10 pp. \$1.00.

Budgets

BASIC BUDGET BACKGROUND FOR BALTIMORE CITY TAXPAYERS. Where the Money Comes From and Where It Goes. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1955. 18 pp.

Business Districts

A STUDY OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT, Borough of Princeton, New Jersey. By M. J. Rody and Herbert H. Smith. Princeton, Community Planning Associates, Inc., 1955. 57 pp. \$2.00.

Child Welfare

CHILDREN IN OUR COURTS. By Don M. Pilcher. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1955. 27 pp.

City Councils

CITY COUNCIL ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY. By Jenniellen Wesley Ferguson. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1955. 81 pp.

Civic Campaigns

HOW CAN WE CONDUCT A WINNING CAMPAIGN? New York, National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, 1955. 63 pp.

Civil Defense

THE STATES, COUNTIES, CITIES AND CIVIL DEFENSE. By the Federal Civil Defense Administration. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1955. 28 pp. 20 cents.

Civil Rights

INTERNAL SECURITY AND CIVIL RIGHTS. Edited by Thorsten Sellin. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, THE ANNALS, July 1955. vii, 190 pp. \$2.00.

Cooperative Communities

GREENBELT: THE COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY. An Experience in Democratic Living. By George A. Warner. New

York, Exposition Press, 1954. 232 pp. \$3.50.

Education

MANAGEMENT AND EDUCATION. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1955. 51 pp. 50 cents.

Elections and Voting

COMPULSORY VOTING. By Henry J. Abraham. Washington 8, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1955. 38 pp. \$1.00.

Flood Control

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT. Five Years of Progress 1949-1954. West Palm Beach, Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, 1954. v, 39 pp.

Government Corporations

CONTROLLING GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS. New York, The Tax Foundation, 1955. 43 pp.

Governors

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK. By Bernard Bellush. New York, Columbia University Press, 1955. xiii, 338 pp. \$5.00.

Home Rule

HOME RULE FOR CONNECTICUT'S MUNICIPALITIES. By Duane Lockard. Hartford, The State Bar Association of Connecticut, *Connecticut Bar Journal*, March 1955. 10 pp.

Incentives to Industry

SUBSIDIZED INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION. The Luring of Plants to New Locations. Recommendations for Legislative Action by the Subcommittee on Migration and Subsidization of Industry, National Legislative Committee, AFoFL. Washington, D.C., American Federation of Labor, 1955. v, 85 pp. 75 cents.

Intergovernmental Relations

REPORT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS with Appendix. Harrisburg, The

Commission, 1955. 88 and 289 pp. respectively.

A SUMMARY OF "THE CAPACITY OF THE STATES." A study of the Role of the States, Past, Present and Future in the Over-all Scheme of Government in the United States. What the States Have Done. What They Are Now Doing. What They Are Able to Do. By Fred J. Milligan for the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Columbus, The Ohio Citizens Committee on Federal-State Relations, 1954. 9 pp.

Keys to the City

KEYS TO THE CITY. By Robert Christofferson. Beverly Hills, California, City of Beverly Hills, 1955. 7 pp.

Law Enforcement

MUNICIPAL LAW ENFORCEMENT IN OKLAHOMA. A Survey and Evaluation. Oklahoma City 2, Oklahoma Crime Study Commission, 1955. 51 pp.

Legislation

SUMMARY DIGEST OF STATUTES ENACTED and Proposed Constitutional Amendments Submitted to the Electors Including Table of Sections Affected, California Legislature, 1955 Regular Session. Sacramento, California State Printing Office, 1955. 448 pp.

SUMMARY OF NEW LAWS AFFECTING OHIO MUNICIPALITIES ENACTED BY THE 101ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY. Columbus 15, Ohio Municipal League, 1955. 20 pp. \$1.00.

Management

MANAGEMENT. A Guidepost to Modern Government. Denver, Management Office of the City and County, 1955. 62 pp.

Merchandising

MODERN MERCHANDISING AND MUNICIPAL FINANCE. By Mabel Walker. Princeton, N.J., Tax Institute, Incorporated, *Tax Policy*, April-May 1955. 32 pp. 75 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Metropolitan Areas

MOVING PEOPLE IN METROPOLITAN AREAS. Proceedings of the Second Annual University of California Conference on City and Regional Planning, San Francisco, June 18, 1954. Berkeley, University of California, Department of City and Regional Planning, 1955. 37 pp. 75 cents.

Municipal Credit

FACTORS AFFECTING MUNICIPAL CREDIT TODAY. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, July 1955. 6 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Cultural Activities

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES. By Orin F. Nolting. (Reprinted from *Public Management*, August 1955.) Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1955. 16 pp. \$1.00.

Police and Fire Integration

POLICE AND FIRE INTEGRATION IN THE SMALL CITY. By Charles S. James. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1955. vii, 84 pp. \$2.00.

Politics

THE DIXIECRAT MOVEMENT. Its Role in Third Party Politics. By Emile B. Ader. Washington 8, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1955. 24 pp. \$1.00.

GUIDE TO MICHIGAN POLITICS. By Joseph G. LaPalombara. New York, Law Center of New York University, The Citizenship Clearing House, 1955. 66 pp. 25 cents. (Discounts on 11 or more copies.)

Public Administration

THE STUDY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By Woodrow Wilson. Washington 8, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1955. 23 pp. \$1.00.

Public Relations

A MUNICIPAL PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM THAT WORKS FOR SMALL & MEDIUM-SIZED CITIES. By Pan Dodd

Wheeler. Nashville, Tennessee Municipal League, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1955. 25 pp.

State Government

MICHIGAN GOVERNMENT IN BRIEF. By Daniel S. McMarge. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1955. 66 pp.

ORGANIZATION CHARTS OF THE STATE OF OHIO AND ITS DEPARTMENTS, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS. By Alfred E. Diamond under the direction of Harvey Walker. Columbus, Ohio State University, Department of Political Science, 1955. 23 pp.

Surveys

SURVEY OF GOVERNMENTAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN SHARON TOWNSHIP. By Harvey Walker. Sharon, Ohio, Township Trustees, 1954. 60 pp.

Taxation and Finance

COMPENDIUM OF STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1954. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1955. 68 pp. 40 cents.

A FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD OF THE 1955 MINNESOTA STATE LEGISLATURE. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1955. 12 pp.

THE FRENCH TAX TANGLE. Princeton, N.J., Tax Institute, Incorporated, *Tax Policy*, March 1955. 8 pp. 25 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

HISTORICAL STATISTICS ON STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCES 1902-1953. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1955. 28 pp. 25 cents.

LOCAL TAX ADMINISTRATION. By James W. Martin, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, May 1955. 31 pp. 50 cents.

METROPOLITAN DIAGNOSIS AND PRE-

SCRIPTION. Princeton, N.J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, January-February, 1955. 12 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

1955 CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, August 1955. 64 pp. 50 cents.

THE PENNSYLVANIA TAX PROBLEM 1955. Tax Institute Conference, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, April 5-6, 1955. Princeton, N.J., Tax Institute, Incorporated, 1955. xxxix, 212 pp.

PROPERTY TAX EXEMPTIONS IN CONNECTICUT TOWNS AND CITIES 1929-1953. By Beldon H. Schaffer and Patricia Stuart Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1955. 40 pp. 25 cents.

SUMMARY OF STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1954. FINANCES OF SELECTED STATES IN 1954. Washington, D. C., U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1955. 21 and 14 pp. respectively. 15 cents each.

THE TAX COLLECTOR AND THE TOWN TREASURER IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. By Gilbert Cantor. Durham, University of New Hampshire, Public Administration Service of the Department of Government, 1955. 19 pp.

Textbooks

FUNDAMENTALS OF AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. By Cullen B. Gossnell, Lane W. Lancaster and Robert S. Rankin. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955. vii, 490 pp. \$5.00.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Austin F. MacDonald. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955. xvi, 667 pp. \$6.00.

Traffic Safety

PEDESTRIAN SAFETY. A Traffic Safety Program Kit Including Plans and Ma-

terials for S-D Day. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1955. Variously pagged.

DETROIT'S REGIONAL PLAN

(Continued from page 468)

it. Everybody on the committee is led and urged to participate.

Participation is the key to acceptance of a plan. No matter how much ballyhoo and publicity you deluge the people with, the average American is not going to give his sustained support to something he does not understand. Metropolitan planning is too big and too technical for him to understand unless he has participated in it. If you can get him working on some pet project and studying facts about which there is little argument, it is not too hard to introduce the other factors of the plan that have a bearing on the item in which he is interested. Similarly, it is too much to ask a citizen of a one-square-mile town to recognize his dependence on a two-thousand-square-mile metropolitan area. If, however, you can get him to look at his neighbors in a two-hundred-square-mile development area, you may get him to look at the whole two thousand square miles.

So there you have it! That is the best we have been able to do in a large metropolitan area. The same method will work for a state. For smaller metropolitan areas, it should probably be modified. There might be more actual citizen participation. The plan might be more detailed. Basically, however, I think the concepts will work anywhere if properly applied.

Henry Schmitz, president of the University of Washington, Frank C. Moore, former lieutenant governor of New York, and Donald H. Webster, University of Washington, inspecting model display by the Seattle Water Department at National Conference on Government.



Staff Travel

Alfred Willoughby, League executive director, conferred September 19 in Chicago with representatives of several organizations on the relationships of the states to problems of metropolitan areas.

John E. Bebout, assistant director, addressed the annual meeting of the Alabama State Bar Association at Mobile on July 21. The question of calling a

constitutional convention is under discussion in that state.

Senior Associates John P. Keith and William N. Cassella, Jr., with Willoughby, attended the conference of the Governmental Research Association at Atlantic City. Keith attended in September a panel session of the municipal section of the American Bar Association in Philadelphia.

Members of discussion panel, "Management in Local Government." Left to right, seated: Cecil C. Wyatt, city manager, Victoria, B. C., Canada; Glenn S. Allen, Jr., mayor of Kalamazoo, Michigan, presiding; Ross Miller, city manager of Modesto, California; L. P. Cunningham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri; Leverett S. Lyon, Association of Commerce and Industry, Chicago; standing: Walton R. L. Taylor, city manager, Missoula, Montana; Russell J. Cooney, city manager of Merced, California; H. D. Weller, city manager of Lodi, California.



Model Charter Cuts Drafting Time by Half

After Aiken, South Carolina, recently adopted the council-manager form of government under terms of a new enabling act, Dwight D. Ink, chairman of the Aiken Charter Committee which drafted the act, wrote the League:

"In my opinion, the *Model City Charter* enabled us to cut in half the time required in the preparation of the bill. Without it, I doubt seriously that we could have introduced it in this session of the legislature. More important, the quality of the bill was improved substantially through the use of many ideas found in the *Model City Charter*."

[The League's *Model City Charter* has been used by most local charter commissions for the last generation, as has the companion *Guide for Charter Commissions* since its original publication in 1947.—EDITOR.]

First President's Portrait Received

A portrait of the National Municipal League's first president, James C. Carter, has been received as a gift from the City Club of New York. The portrait has been hung on the second floor of the new League headquarters.

President Carter was elected in 1894 and served as League president until 1903, at which time he was made honorary president. He served in this capacity until the time of his death in 1905. As first president of the City Club of New York, he had a leading part in calling the National Conference on Good

City Government in 1894, out of which developed the establishment of the League the same year.

His association with attorneys in the Boss Tweed case interested President Carter in municipal reform. Governor Tilden appointed him in the 1870s to the commission to devise and improve forms of city government in New York and he also served as a member of the Constitutional Commission of 1872.

A distinguished lawyer and author on legal subjects, President Carter was a founder of the New York Bar Association, serving five terms as that organization's president. He also held the office of president of the American Bar Association.

Just one of the many unscheduled discussions at the National Conference on Government. Left to right: Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee, National Municipal League; W. Howard Chase, McCann-Erickson, Inc.; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant; and Myron C. Law, former president, Municipal League of Seattle and King County.



Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1954).....	\$.20
Charts: Council-Manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three.....	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1953).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953).....	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952).....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953)	.75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953) .....	.75
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)	

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953).....	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation).....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951).....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954)	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954)	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1954).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953).....	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954).....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1954).....	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952).....	1.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1954).....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1954).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952).....	.75
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954)	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE- VIEW), 12 pages (1953).....	.25
More Responsible States. Panel Discussion, National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, 33 pages, mimeographed (1953)	.50
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955) .....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954) .....	.35

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building
47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

We Need Your Help!

To Fill a Demand for Complete Sets of National Municipal League Works, We Require the Publications Listed Below. We Will Pay the Prices Listed.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

April 1912	\$1.25
July 1912	1.25
January 1913	1.25
July 1913	1.25
October 1913	1.25
January 1914	1.25
April 1914	1.25
December 1921 .....	.50
February 1922 .....	.50
June 1922 .....	.50
November 1922 .....	.50
December 1923 .....	.50
December 1925 .....	.50

Supplements to

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW	
March 1922 — Criminal Justice — How to Achieve It	\$.25
January 1924 — Constitutional Tax Exemption .....	.25
February 1928 — Standards of Financial Administration .....	.25
October 1928 — Federal Aid to the States .....	.25

Index to

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW
1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928 \$.25 Each

Proceedings of the

National Conference on Government
1894, 1894-95, 1904..... \$5.00 Each

National Municipal League

47 EAST 68TH ST., NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Unusual Fare

For Meetings of Chambers of Commerce, Civic Groups, Leagues of Women Voters, Taxpayers' Associations and other Organizations

The National Municipal League offers six recordings of its new "Citizens at Work" radio series, just concluded over the Mutual Broadcasting System. These 33½ RPM discs tell the story of how embattled citizens united and won the fight for civic betterment or reform in their communities. They will inspire your fellow-citizens to similar accomplishments. The communities whose stories are told are Fort Wayne, Indiana; Modesto, California; Owensboro, Kentucky; Paterson-Troy Hills, New Jersey; Pendleton, Oregon; and Pueblo, Colorado. Price: \$10.00 each disc.

Also Suitable for High School Classes and College Political Science Courses

Place Your Order Today!

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21